

# *Janashakti*

ORGAN OF C.O.C OF C.P.I (M.L) - JANASHAKTI



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## CONTENTS

### Editorial:

- ☐ Learn From Experiences 3

### Document

- ☐ On The Principal Contradiction -Chandra Pulla Reddy 9  
Victories of Anti-Nizam Struggle-D.V.Rao

### Paper

- ☐ Pokhran Tests-Dr.Probol DasGupta 45

### Polemic

- ☐ Futile Attempts to Distort History 51

### Interviews

- ☐ Germany Stefan Engel 70  
Congo Shambuyi Kalala 80  
Albania Vlora Saluation Committee 84

### Statements

- ☐ MLPD: Hands of Congo 65  
Solidarity with Soria 98  
6th Conference of ICMPLD 88  
COC: On Iraq 96  
Uncle Sam on Brigandage 41

### Obituary

- ☐ Com.Kolla Venkayya 61  
Com.Nagabhusaan Patnaik 79

### Appeal

- ☐ Concerned Citizens in Action 94

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EDITORIAL :

## **On the Eve of 81st Anniversary of October Revolution LEARN FROM EXPERIENCES MARCH AHEAD ON THE ROAD OF REVOLUTION**

In the last 150 years, the proletariat has won great victories and, at the same time, suffered serious setbacks.

The Paris Commune of 1871; October Revolution of 1917; Victory over Fascism in 1945; Chinese Revolution of 1949 and various other revolutions in the post Second World War period were earth shaking, unparalleled revolutionary events in the history of human world.

The proletariat and the oppressed masses did not stop at uprooting the old social systems. They laid foundations and built up the societies fundamentally new and different from old ones. Crores of working and oppressed masses voluntarily, consciously, and in an organised way participated in this great revolutionary action. They enjoyed the fruits of these revolutions not one year, one decade but for some decades.

The proletarian and oppressed masses made countless and supreme sacrifices not only in the course of revolutions to overthrow the old social systems but also in the course of revolutions that continued to defend the fruits of revolutions from the counter revolutionary forces. They braved cyclones; swam against the tides and defied gods.

They did not confine to revolutions in their own countries. They carried on their revolutions as part of World Proletarian Revolution. They held high the revolutionary banner: Workers of the world, Unite! Workers and Oppressed people, Unite!! They had shown the determination not to rest till the end of exploiting system all over the world. It was this spirit of proletarian Internationalism taught by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao and others that promoted solidarity, Unity and co-operation among the various revolutions. It helped them to fight imperialism, Fascism and hegemonism at global level. The working class, oppressed nations and peace loving people made supreme sacrifices and had shown exemplary revolutionary qualities in the course of their struggle against the common enemy.



These were not spontaneous victories. These revolutions and struggles were guided by an advanced ideology, politics and organizational principles. They were applied to concrete study and concrete conditions. The millions and crores of proletarian and oppressed masses directly participated in the consistent practice and class battles, class wars that assumed various forms-peaceful, violent. The revolutions and struggles advanced along ups and downs, Zig Zag course, mistakes, rectifications, learning and improving from experiences and defying difficulties and betrayals. All through, the Proletarian Ideology, Marxism was guiding the practice of proletarian and oppressed masses. The Communist Party and the Red Flag always remained with the people and led them. The victories won by the people in this period cannot therefore, be separated from the Marxism and the role of Communist Party. Likewise, Marxism too has been retaining its liveliness and continuously enriching and strengthening itself in the course of concrete application and practice. Marxism Leninism Mao's Thought is only a consequence of it.

It is indisputable that the revolutions had faced serious setbacks in the last 40 years. Quite naturally, the exploiting classes were Jubilant and the proletarian and oppressed masses were pained by this development.

### **Exploiters are not confident**

The exploiting classes are crying horse to project these setbacks and temporary failures as final defeat of Marxism and end of history. Their preaching to those who still believe Marxism and the victories it won in practice goes like this: 'shed the hopes in Marxism; Abandon the idea of confrontation with the exploiting classes; Learn to live bowing yourselves to the present system!'

Here the exploiting classes outwardly appear to be fully satisfied with their 'victory; But, in reality, they are not that confident about their future., They too make concrete evaluation to safeguard their own interests, not on the basis of their wishes but on the basis of realities.

They try to cover their policies of exploitation and oppression with beautiful guises. Yet, they know that it is these



very policies that are at the root of inequalities, contradictions, tensions and clashes in the society. They know that it is these very policies that are pushing the overwhelming masses of people into ever increasing poverty, unemployment, ill health, and insecurity. Whether Marxism and revolutions regain the old strength in the near future or not can be a point of debate. But it is sure that the ideas and reactions against the exploitation and oppression would grow continuously and unabatedly because the objection basis for them lies nowhere but in the system of exploitation and oppression. Whether they like it or not, the exploiting classes know it well that, even in the face of many adverse conditions, the peoples revolutions are going on in some countries and the people are waging struggles in various forms in defence of their rights all over the world. It is the reason why they are unable to live in peace. It is the reason why they have not abandoned the brutal weapons and methods of suppression and are freely using and continuously developing them. Finding the methods of brutal suppression inadequate to bring the people on their heels, they are increasingly using various diversionist and splittist methods against the people. They are trying to drown the people in illusions through some paltry concessions and allurements. They are not feeling shy to bid a temporary retreat or enter into some bargain even with their enemies, i.e., the struggling forces when they find the situation going out of their hand and cannot be controlled by other means. These methods only expose the weaknesses of exploiting classes where they are always not in a position to confront the working class and oppressed masses directly and in the way they like. They are increasingly resorting to indirect, disguised and back-door methods to spread their ideology. They are adopting 'progressive' and 'radical' garbs. The exploiting classes are forced to use these methods because the direct and crude methods of attack are proving less effective.

The exploiting classes know that their economic and political policies are in constant crisis. They also know that each so called remedial measure is sinking them in more deep crisis instead of bailing them out. They know that though they show unity against the exploited and oppressed masses, they are also locked in an ever intensifying, irreconcilable and cut



throat competition among themselves for a better share in the loot. The possibility of exploited and oppressed classes utilizing the contradictions and clashes of exploiting classes in their own favour is always frightening them.

### **So called Independent Critics**

Besides the exploiting classes and their direct spokespersons and ideologues, there are also some other types of forces on the scene.

Some formally do not agree that Marxism and revolutionary paths have failed. But, at the same time, in reality, they are engaged in moulding and practicing Marxism, Socialism, revolution and Communist Party in accordance with the needs of bourgeois ideology and policies, all in the name of changes in the conditions and creative application. Those who are pursuing reformism, revisionism, market economy belong to this category.

There are some intellectuals, some of whom are identified as democrats, progressives, leftists and even revolutionaries. They are now busy in re-evaluating Marxism, Revolutions, histories of Communist Parties and various movements. It seems, they feel confident that they are fully empowered, free and well quipped in terms of wealth of intellect, language and skill to argue to undertake this task. They declare that they are not dogmatists, not tied to a particular ideology and are for a continuous probing and seek truth from facts. They advocate not to accept an ideology or understanding as comprehensive flawless and subject it to a constant and 'independent' examination and scrutiny to bring out unexplored inadequacies, infirmities and dark sides. It is curious to note that these so called independent intellectuals, who had set themselves on such an adventurous task as rectifying some ideologies and practices are focusing their particular attention on the Communist Ideology and revolutionary practice based on this Ideology.

These friends define Marxism and events as they wish and draw the conclusions on the basis of it. They pick up certain words or sentences mechanically and out of context and go on interpreting, criticising and drawing conclusions. Has every thing moved exactly as stated in the writings of Marx.



say, Manifesto?-They ask. It may be correct 150 years back, but why should we hang on to it even now?-They ask. Did the revolutions take place in the advanced countries of Europe as Marx visualised?-They ask. Why the Russian Revolution did not take exactly the road of Paris Commune of 1871? Does it not mean that Marxism was not applicable to Russia-They conclude. When we mention some concrete and irrefutable facts to assert that Marxism has definite achievements in practice, they shoot back with the question, then, why they did not last? How an achievement that did not sustain prove the correctness of a theory that guided it?-They ask. They reduce the theoretical points and facts into a game of sheer logics. They shift from one point to other and one fact to other with no end. The essence of whole exercise is to do away a concrete, scientific and dialectical basis for discussion, create a smoke of confusion, crisis of convictions and void in ideas. There is nothing new, nothing independent in this exercise. All talk of non-class, above class or humane approach in a class divided society is rubbish. Every one whether they are conscious of it or not, whether they accept it or not-are guided by one ideology or other and serves one class interest or other. The attempts to disintegrate and destroy the progressive, scientific and revolutionary ideas and practices are in vogue for a long time. Our friends are only treading this beaten track.

### **Where you stand?**

We the CRs have all the respect for the intellectuals. The proletariat and oppressed masses have a rightful claim over them, because it is their sweat and toil that provided the necessary conditions for them to accumulate the cream of knowledge. We the CRs do not demand or expect all the intellectuals to adopt Marxism as their ideological basis. At the same time, we have certain expectations. We expect them to take a clear side of proletariat and oppressed masses in their battle against imperialism, feudalism, and reactionary ideas. No real friend or ally of exploited and oppressed masses can be expected to phoo-phoo the peoples revolutions. The criticism and advises of democratic and patriotic friends and allies of the present revolution in India are always welcome because the



proletariat is ready to learn from them and from their own mistakes and raise their ability to it can lead the revolution thoroughly and victoriously.

## **A Guide to Action**

We the Communist Revolutionaries see the Marxism as a living and scientific ideology. As Engels declared, we believe it not as dogma but as a guide to action. This ideology gets itself continuously enriched and developed by absorbing the experiences of class struggle, fruits of scientific development and concrete study. The founders as well as the great teachers of Communist Ideology had put various formulations and evaluations they made to the test of practice, verified with the concrete study of facts and conditions and made necessary improvements, where ever needed. This is a continuous process. But no one can be expected to contribute to the enrichment and development of Marxism by negating it and by divorcing from the practice of class struggle. No one can be expected to help the proletariat and oppressed people in their effort to apply, practice and draw proper lessons from their experiences by adopting a bourgeois or petty bourgeois ideology, stand, view-point and method.

On the eve of 81st Anniversary of Great October Revolution, let us reaffirm our firm convictions in the Communist Ideology and the revolutionary practice based on it. Let us deepen our study of Marxism. Let us take the message and achievements of the Peoples Revolutions to widest masses of people. Let us intensify our ideological struggle against the bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies. Let us make a systematic and purposeful study of experiences of Revolutions-both achievements and setbacks-from a Marxist- Leninist stand, view point and method so that we can learn proper lessons from the experiences and use the same to advance the revolution in our country.





# ON THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION IN INDIA

*COM. CHANDRA PULLA REDDY*

A correct definition of the principal contradiction in our country at the present phase of the New Democratic Revolution of our country helps the Party to correctly identify the main enemies and the main allies of the Indian revolution.

## **Basic contradictions and the Principal contradiction**

With the transfer of power in 1947 from the British imperialism to Congress representing the big bourgeois, big landlord classes, our country has changed from being colonial and semi-feudal country to being semi colonial and semi-feudal country.

In our semi-colonial and semi-feudal society, four basic contradictions are at work. They are:

- The contradiction between the Nation and the imperialism.
- The contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the people.
- The contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.
- The contradictions between different sections of the ruling classes.

These four are the basic contradictions influencing the course of the Indian revolution. But during the whole course of our New Democratic Revolution, all these basic contradictions will not have equal importance. Depending on various factors and changes in the political situation, one of the four basic contradictions, stated above, matures more than others and occupies the principal position. The solution of that matured contradiction paves the way for the solution of the secondary contradictions. Comrade Mao says:

There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determines or influences the existence and development of the other contradictions. (Mao: On Contradictions)



So we have to closely study the basic contradictions in our country at this particular phase of our semi-colonial and semi-feudal country. We should correctly identify the principal contradiction. Such a determination helps to locate the principal enemies and the principal allies of the Indian revolution, at the present phase.

## Past Struggles

In the past, after the transfer of power from British imperialism to the big bourgeois, big landlord Congress in 1947, the leadership of the communist movement in the country thoroughly failed to understand the nature of this transfer of power, our country changing from being a colony to being semi-colonial and semi-feudal country; the subservient role of the new ruling classes towards imperialism; the comprador nature of our ruling classes; the change from the direct rule of British imperialism to the indirect rule of imperialism.

It failed to properly study the basic contradictions of our semi-colonial and semi-feudal country and their inter-relations. In short, it failed to correctly identify the principal contradiction i.e. to correctly identify the main enemies and the main allies of the Indian revolution and the main form of struggle to accomplish the Indian revolution. Consequently the leadership committed many right and left deviations on these questions, revisionism being the long standing.

Even after the communist revolutionaries broke away ideologically and organisationally with revisionism and neo-revisionism, the controversy among them on the question of the principal contradiction in India did not end.

The CPI (ML) leadership, under the influence of Charu's line, subsequently decided that the principal contradiction in India is between the landlords and peasants and since the peasants in India were in majority, they said that the principal contradiction can be said to be between the landlords and the majority of the people. Later this was upheld by the Party Congress also. Charu's line did not even recognize the existence of national bourgeoisie and rich peasants and the necessity of winning them over in the struggle against imperialism



and the big bourgeois, big landlord classes and since its strategic programme itself was wrong, it brought immense damage to the Indian revolution. Later the old CC identified the principal contradiction as one between feudalism and the broad masses of the people.

But the Andhra Committee, which was then outside the CPI (ML) at that time did not agree that the principal contradiction was between the landlords and the peasants.

At that time there were two distinct trends in the Andhra Committee on this question. While the DV group held that the principal contradiction is between feudalism and the broad masses of the people, some of the present leaders of the Andhra Committee held that the principal contradiction is between the big bourgeois, big landlord classes on the one hand and the broad masses of the people. Though they noted the subservient role of the ruling classes towards imperialism, they did not specify the alliance of imperialism with the ruling classes in India. Consequently in their separate Provincial Party Conference in 1973, they declared that the principal contradiction in India is between feudalism and the broad masses of the Indian people.

This conception on the principal contradiction prevailed among majority of the communist revolutionaries in the country. But discussions have continued among them on this question. After the merger of the old CC and the Unity Committee, some of the leaders of Unity Committee proposed that the principal contradiction is between the alliance of imperialism, and feudalism on one hand and the broad masses of the people on the other. After discussions, the PCC, in its Draft Amended Programme (published in June 1978 issue of New Democracy) declared that the principal contradiction in India at this phase is between "Feudalism and the broad masses of the people." It has also explained that "feudalism is an ally and social basis of imperialism." It has further explained that "at certain stage of development of Indian revolution, the contradiction between the imperialism and the nation may become the principal contradiction, particularly when the revolutionary movement advances to a higher stage or when a single imperialist power becomes the principal enemy."



## New definition of the principal contradiction by the PCC

After further studying this question, and our own experiences in the country, the PCC (Provisional Central Committee) had declared that the principal contradiction is one between the alliance of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism on one hand and the broad masses of the people on the other. It has further declared that.

"It is imperialism that sustains feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism in order to carry out its economic, political and military objectives and is therefore predominant in the alliance. In the present conditions of world capitalism where two super powers are contending for world hegemony and hegemony over India, only one of them will be the principal target of the Indian people in a particular period according to its economic, political and military predominance in our country. However, it must be borne in mind that at a certain state of development of Indian revolution, the contradiction between imperialism and the nation may become the principal contradiction, particularly when the revolutionary movement advances to a higher stage."

The amended programme (draft) while defining the principal contradiction is between feudalism and the broad masses of the people, has also correctly defined that the principal enemies of the revolution being imperialism (including social imperialism), feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism. It has defined that the principal allies of the revolution being the workers, peasants, urban middle classes, and the national bourgeoisie to be united in a People's Democratic Front, under the leadership of the working class. It has defined that worker-peasant alliance as the core of this People's Democratic Front. It has also declared that the "Path of the Indian revolution will be essentially the Chinese Path to defeat the enemies of the Indian revolution will be essentially the Chinese Path to defeat the enemies of the Indian revolution i.e. the Path of Protracted People's War, with Agrarian Revolution as its axis since the peasantry is the main force of our democratic revolution led by the working class."



Now, the new amendment has declared that the principal contradiction is between the alliance of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism and the broad masses of the people. But it has not changed either the main enemies or the main allies of the revolution or the main form of struggle to achieve the Indian revolution.

If the new definition of the principal contradiction does not change the main enemies and the main allies of the Indian revolution or the path of the Indian revolution, why then this change in the definition of the principal contradiction.

It is to bring about (1) more correctly the role of imperialism in maintaining the present semi-colonial, semi-feudal society in our country, (2) its alliance with our big bourgeois, big landlord classes to maintain the present social set up and suppression of the revolutionary forces, and (3) to focus more clearly the necessity of utilising the contradictions of the various imperialist countries exploiting our country so that chief enemy among them could be identified for greater concentration.

## **The Role of imperialism**

The amended Programme (draft) had correctly defined that of the four basic contradictions operating in our present society, the contradiction between imperialism and the nation and the contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the people are the two basic contradictions decisively influencing the course of the Indian revolution.

During the period of the direct rule, British imperialism used its military force to suppress the national liberation struggle. Even when forced to transfer power to the big bourgeois, big landlord classes, it divided the country into India and Pakistan; it incited communal riots between the Hindus and Muslims on a big scale to weaken both the countries and keep them under its control. It tried to create many independent states inside India and thus keep India weak and preserve its control and exploitation in our country.

Even with the transfer of power in 1947 to our big bourgeois, big landlord classes, India did not become a fully



sovereign and independant country. Our country got only formal political independence, but continued to be subjected to indirect control and exploitation of imperialism.

Our country being a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country, the comprador big bourgeois, big landlord classes have opened the gates of our country to further inflow of foreign capital from various imperialist powers like USA, Soviet social imperialism, Japan, West Germany etc. in the form of direct investments, loans, joint ventures etc. Thus we see that while, before 1947, it was British imperialism that dominated our country, today our country is being subjected to the exploitation of various other imperialist powers, particularly US imperialism and Soviet social imperialism.

Foreign exploitation and domination has actually grown in our country with the transfer of power in 1947. Our big bourgeois, big landlord classes in India are comprador in character, subservient to imperialism, have only 'freedom' to change their masters in the international market. In the beginning they mainly followed the British imperialists, later they submitted themselves to US imperialism and later still, they agreed to submit themselves to soviet social imperialism also.

All this clearly shows how imperialism plays a dominant role in the exploitation and suppression of our country whether in the period of direct rule of British imperialism before 1947, or in the period of indirect rule i.e. the present semi-colonial, semi-feudal status of our country.

Thus we see imperialism and social imperialism play a predominant role in maintaining the present semi-colonial semi-feudal status of our country and in the suppression of our New Democratic Revolution. Comrade Stalin says:

Imperialism, with all its financial and military might, is the force in China that supports, inspires, fosters and preserves the feudal survivals, together with their entire bureaucratic militarist super structure. (Stalin : On China)

Comrade Mao says:

" What are the chief targets or enemies at this stage of the Chinese Revolution ? They are imperialism and feudalism.



the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries and the landlord class of our country. For it is these two that are the chief oppressors, the chief obstacles to the progress of Chinese society at the present stage. The two collude with each other in oppressing the Chinese people, and **imperialism is the foremost and most ferocious enemy of the Chinese people, because national oppression by imperialism is the more onerous**".

( P. 315, Vol II, Mao Zedong) (underline mine)

So this clearly shows that the main edge of our New Democratic Revolution should be aimed against imperialism and social imperialism.

### **Imperialism in alliance with our ruling classes**

Imperialism and social imperialism not only dominate the economic, political and military situation of our country, it is in alliance with our big bourgeois, big landlord classes for joint exploitation and suppression of our people and their revolutionary struggles.

The amended Programme (draft) itself has declared that imperialism(including social imperialism),feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism are the main enemies of the Indian revolution.

But these elements are not separate elements. These main enemies are in an alliance for joint oppression and suppression of our country and the people have to fight against this alliance to achieve their New Democratic Revolution.

Imperialism is dependent on the comprador big bourgeoisie in India for its trade in India, its investments and joint ventures. The big bourgeoisie in India is dependent on imperialism for capital, machinery, and technical knowledge. This is the economic basis for an alliance between imperialism and big bourgeois class.

Imperialism is dependent on the landlords to keep the vast rural areas safe for selling its finished products and to get its necessary industrial raw materials. On the other hand, landlords, particularly the capitalist land lords, need the help of imperialism for the export of their surplus raw materials and for the supply of various inputs necessary for more agricultural



production . This is the economic basis for an alliance between landlords and the imperialism. This is the reason why, of late, imperialism, particularly Soviet Union, is making greater efforts to penetrate Indian agriculture.

Similarly we can see a similar economic dependence between the big bourgeois and big landlord classes.

Politically imperialism needs the help of the big bourgeois, big landlord classes to keep the Indian people, particularly the workers and peasants, suppressed and thus make the country safe for its exploitation.

Similarly the big bourgeois, big landlord classes need the help of imperialism--economic, political and military-- in their suppression of the Indian people's struggles.

Thus we see that there is clear economic and political basis for an alliance between imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism.

Speaking about the direct and indirect intervention of imperialism in the colonial and semi- colonial countries, comrade Stalin says:

Intervention is by no means confined to the incursion of troops, and the incursion of troops by no means constitutes the principal feature of intervention. In the present day conditions of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries, when the direct incursion assumes more flexible and more camouflaged form. In the conditions prevailing today, imperialism prefers to intervene in a dependent country by organising civil war there, by financing counter revolutionary forces against the revolution, by giving moral and financial support to its Chinese against the revolution.

(P,7. Stalin: On Chinese Revolution)

There is another aspect to their alliance. The Indian ruling classes have expansionist ambitions towards their neighbours. They can achieve these expansionist ambitions only with the help of one imperialist power or the another. The imperialist powers also, particularly the Soviet Union, wants to make our country its base for its expansionist aims in Asia and the world. This is another basis for an alliance between imperialism and our own ruling classes.



This should not mean that there are no contradictions between the various constituents of this alliance. There are bound to be contradictions among them as to the share of each in their joint exploitation of our people, but they are not antagonistic contradictions, but contradictions which will be settled through discussions.

Thus we see clearly that in the present phase, principal contradiction is between the alliance of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism on one hand, and the broad masses of our people on the other hand. Naturally because of its superior economic and military strength, imperialism is the leader of this alliance.

This means that at the present phase of the Indian revolution, when our country is semi-colonial, semi-feudal, the anti-imperialist tasks and the democratic tasks are inter-linked i.e., the struggle against imperialism and the struggle against our big bourgeois, big landlord classes are inter-linked.

Seeing the economic, political and military domination of imperialism and social imperialism in India, one thing is clear. We cannot defeat imperialism (including social imperialism) without defeating our own big bourgeois, big landlord classes, because they are the main props of imperialist oppression and suppression in India. Similarly we cannot defeat the big bourgeois, big landlord classes, without at the same time defeating imperialism (including Soviet social imperialism) because it is imperialism that "supports, inspires, fosters and preserves the feudal survivals together with their entire bureaucratic militarist superstructure."

Comrade Mao says:

Unquestionably, the main tasks are to strike at these two enemies, to carry out a national revolution to overthrow foreign imperialist oppression and a democratic revolution to overthrow feudal landlord oppression, the primary and foremost task being national revolution to overthrow imperialism. These two great tasks are inter-related; unless imperialist rule is overthrown the rule of the feudal landlord class cannot be terminated, because imperialism is its main support. Conversely, unless help is given to the peasants in their struggle to



overthrow the feudal landlord class, it will be impossible to build powerful revolutionary contingents to overthrow imperialist rule, because the feudal landlord class is the main social base of imperialist rule in China and peasantry is the main force in the Chinese revolution. Therefore, the two fundamental tasks, the national revolution and the democratic revolution are at once distinct and united.

(p.318, Mao Zedong, Vol. II)

Comrade Stalin says:

Thus, the present revolution in China is a continuation of two streams of the revolutionary movement, the movement against feudal survivals and the movement against imperialism. The bourgeois democratic revolution in China is a combination of the struggle against feudal survivals and the struggle against imperialism. (Stalin: On Chinese Revolution, p.69.)

### **Differentiation of the Imperialist Powers**

Since the leader of the alliance of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism is imperialism, we should carefully consider the contradictions of the various imperialist powers and their supporters in the country, in order to utilise these contradictions in the struggle for People's Democratic Revolution, to identify the main enemy among them for concentrated attack.

Ours is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. So many imperialist powers-Soviet social imperialism, US imperialism, Britain, West Germany, Japan etc.- are investing their capital in India and are contending for their supremacy in India. But the main contention for the domination of our country is between Soviet social imperialism and US imperialism.

Soviet Union dominates our public sector which is the commanding heights of our economy; it monopolises the supply of military hardware to our Army; it has already got a military pact with our government in the name of the 'Friendship Treaty'. Because of these three factors, it is clear that Soviet Union has an edge over the other imperialist powers including US imperialism in exploiting and dominating our country. That is why the recent P.C.C. resolution "People's



Democratic Revolution and Our immediate tasks", has clearly said that Soviet Union is a greater enemy of the Indian people, both nationally and internationally. That means while exposing US imperialism, we should make still greater efforts to expose the predominant position of the Soviet Union in India.

The recent visit of Kosygin to India, and the spate of new agreements between the Soviet Union and the present govt. still further increase the grip of the Soviet Union over India. This also proves that the pro-US Janata government is not in a position to prevent the growing predominant position of the Soviet Union in India, because of its general position in the country.

The communist revolutionaries in India should make use of the contradictions between the various imperialist powers, particularly those between Soviet social imperialism and US imperialism and the ruling section groups supporting them, to advance the revolutionary movement in the country. At present this should not lead to any general political alignment with any section of the ruling classes against the other section, but these contradictions should be utilised from issue to issue affecting the economic and political life of our people and our country. The possibility of a political united front between the working class and any section of the ruling class does exist when our country is directly invaded by a particular imperialist power or when one superpower imposes its exclusive hegemony over our country or when our country is converted into a neo-colony of any superpower.

Comrade Mao says:

The comprador bourgeoisie is always a running dog of imperialism and a target of the revolution. Different groups of the comprador bourgeoisie belong to the monopoly capitalist groups of different imperialist countries such as the United States, Britain, and France. In the struggle against the various comprador groups it is necessary to exploit the contradictions between imperialist countries, first coping with one of them and striking at the chief immediate enemy. (p.327, Mao Zedong Vol. V)



## **Agrarian Revolution, the main form of struggle**

Some critics express the fear that the acceptance of the principal contradiction (the one between the alliance of imperialism, feudalism and the comprador bureaucrat capitalism on the one hand and the broad masses of the people on the other) will reduce the importance of Protracted People's War, with Agrarian Revolution as its axis.

The necessity of Protracted People's War, as the main form of struggle to achieve our New Democratic Revolution does not arise out of the principal contradiction, but by the semi-feudal status of our country, the uneven development of our country by the fact that in our country the peasants are the main force of struggle against the present system to be organised under the leadership of the working class, and the necessity to gather necessary revolutionary forces to capture final power in the cities. That is why the Amended Programme itself says that "the main force of the democratic revolution led by the working class is the peasantry".

It has also declared that the path of Indian revolution will be essentially the Chinese path in order to defeat the enemies of the Indian revolution and to achieve this it has given the following three tasks to be fulfilled.

- A Party armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.
- A People's Army under the leadership of the Party.
- A United Front of all revolutionary classes, with worker-peasant alliance as its core under the leadership of the proletariat.

It is only by doggedly pursuing the Path of Protracted People's War with Agrarian Revolution as its axis, that the Indian people can achieve success in their New Democratic Revolution. All other struggles help in advancing the Agrarian Revolution as its central task.

Comrade Mao says:

"Unless help is given to the peasants in their struggle to overthrow the feudal landlord class, it will be impossible to



build powerful revolutionary contingents to overthrow imperialist rule, because the feudal landlord class is the main social base of imperialist rule in China and the peasantry is the main force in the Chinese Revolution" (p.318, Mao Zedong Vol. II)

Comrade Stalin says:

What is agrarian revolution? It is indeed the basis and content of bourgeois democratic revolution.

He further said:

The opposition has forgotten that the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people against imperialism is due first and foremost to the fact that imperialism in China is the force that supports and inspires the immediate exploiters of the Chinese people-the feudal lords, militarists, capitalists, bureaucrats etc, and that Chinese workers and peasants cannot defeat their exploiters without at the same time waging a revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

(P.96 Stalin: On Chinese Revolution)

He further says:

While the distinguishing feature of the first stage was that the spearhead of the revolution was turned mainly against foreign imperialism, the characteristic feature of the second stage is that the spearhead of the revolution is now turned mainly against the internal enemies, primarily against the feudal landlords, against the feudal regime. (same book., p.137)

Thus it is clear that Protracted People's War with Agrarian Revolution as its axis is the main form of struggle to accomplish our New Democratic Revolution.

### **Lessons of the Chinese Revolution**

This is borne out by the experience of the Chinese revolution itself. In all the phases of the Chinese revolution- the National Liberation struggle against imperialism and warlordism, the First Civil War against Chiang Kai-shek and his allies, the struggle against Japanese aggression, and the Second Civil War against Chiang Kai-shek and his allies- Agrarian Revolution was the main form of struggle adopted by the CPC in their struggle for New Democratic Revolution.



In all the writings and explanations of the Chinese comrades, including the writings of comrade Mao, it is clear that the CPC, while taking the Protracted People's War with Agrarian Revolution as its axis, as the main form of struggle, adopted the tactics of destruction of imperialism and weakening of feudalism during the period of anti-Japanese struggle, and adopted the tactics of complete destruction of imperialism and feudalism as a whole in all other phases of their revolution.

Explaining how the principal contradiction in China changed during the different phases of the Chinese Revolution, comrade Mao says:

In a semi-colonial country such as China, the relationship between the principal contradiction and the non-principal contradiction presents a complicated picture. When imperialism launches a war of aggression against such a country, all its various classes, except for some traitors, can temporarily unite in a National War against imperialism. At such a time the contradiction between imperialism and the country concerned becomes the principal contradiction (including what was the principal contradiction between the feudal system and the great masses of the people) are temporarily relegated to a secondary and subordinate position.

(p.331, Mao Zedong, Vol.I)

Merely taking the words in brackets in the above sentence, some critics argue that comrade Mao held that before the aggression of Japanese imperialism in China, i.e., between 1927 to 1937, the principal contradiction in China was between feudalism and the broad masses of the Chinese people. Taking Mao's writings in isolation from his other writings leads one to wrong conclusions.

We must take this writing of Comrade Mao combined with the subsequent paragraphs in that very article (On Contradiction) where in he says:

But in another situation, the contradictions change position. When imperialism carries on its oppression not by war, but by milder means-political, economic and cultural the



ruling classes in semi-colonial countries capitulate to imperialism and the two form an alliance for the joint oppression of the masses of the people. At such a time, the masses resort to civil war against the alliance of imperialism and the feudal classes, while imperialism often employs indirect methods rather than direct action in helping the reactionaries in semi-colonial countries to oppress the people and thus make the internal contradictions particularly sharp.

He further says:

When a revolutionary civil war develops to the point of threatening the very existence of imperialism and its running dogs, the domestic reactionaries, imperialism often adopts other methods in order to maintain its rule; it either tries to split the revolutionary front from within or sends armed forces to help the domestic reactionaries directly. At such a time, foreign imperialism and domestic reaction stand quite openly at one pole while the masses of the people stand at the other pole, thus forming the principal contradiction which determines or influences the development of the other contradictions.

(pp.331-332, Mao Zedong Vol.I)

Thus it is clear that comrade Mao held that in the period of indirect rule, the period between 1927 to 1937, that the principal contradiction in China at that time was between the alliance of imperialism and the big bourgeois, big landlord classes on one side and the broad masses of China on the other side.

Describing the period between 1927 to 1937 in China, comrade Mao says:

As for China's big bourgeoisie, which is represented by the Kuomintang, all through the long period from 1927 to 1937, it nestled in the arms of imperialists and formed an alliance with the feudal forces against the revolutionary people. In 1927 and for some time afterwards, the Chinese national bourgeoisie also followed the counter-revolution.

(p.349, Mao Zedong Vol.II)



## Conclusions

From what has been described above, the following conclusions should be kept in mind:

1. Ours is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country; the stage of our revolution is People's Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the working class.

2. The main enemies of the revolution are imperialism, particularly Soviet social imperialism and US imperialism and the big bourgeois, landlord classes in the country. The main allies of the Revolution are workers, peasants, urban middle classes and the national bourgeoisie to be united in People's Democratic Front under the leadership of the working class. Worker-peasant alliance is the main base of this united front.

3. The principal contradiction is between the alliance of imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucrat capitalism and the broad masses of the people. Imperialism is the leader of this alliance.

4. The contradictions of various imperialist powers, particularly those between Soviet social imperialism and US imperialism contending for domination over India and the contradictions between the various sections of the ruling classes in India supporting these super powers should be utilised to advance the revolutionary struggle.

Taking the present situation in India, of all the imperialist powers including USA, Soviet social imperialism is the greater enemy of the Indian people both nationally and internationally.

Today these contradictions should be utilised from issue to issue, economic and political, affecting the life of our people and country to isolate and defeat the chief enemy on that particular issue and thus advance the revolutionary struggle.

5. The peasantry is the main force in our revolution and the working class is the leader of the revolution. Protracted People's War with Agrarian Revolution as its axis is the main path of Indian revolution and all other tasks must help in accomplishing this central task.





# VICTORIES OF ANTI-NIZAM STRUGGLE

## People's revolutionary consciousness and its significance

This part is taken from the Chapter 12 of Com. Devulapalli Venkateshwar Rao's book, **THE HISTORY OF TELANGANA PEOPLE'S ARMED STRUGGLE (1946-51)**. In this chapter, Com.DV explained how the people advanced winning victories in the struggle against the feudal forces, established Gram Raj in 3000 villages, brought into vogue new social values; dug and repaired tanks and canals needed for agriculture; developed trade on the basis of mutual benefit; put an end to old and backward values in respect of women and marriage and introduced new values; built up the houses for homeless in the villages; adapted popular forms to the politics of revolutionary struggles in the field of culture and literature; seized and distributed 1000000 acres of land and solved the problems of higher level that cropped up in the course of land distribution. We have translated this part from Telugu. We hope, this will help the readers to get an idea of the victories won by this struggle of historic significance.

**-Editor.**

Be it a grain distribution or the distribution of agricultural implements, the people must show the consciousness that, by such a distribution, they are only enjoying their just right. Contrary to this, there is a trend which confuses the attempts to steal with such a distribution. This was not so glaring at the time. Yet, it is necessary to know clearly about it. We must see the difference between a distribution done consciously and in a way that enhances the level of peoples consciousness and the distribution done with no relation to such a consciousness. Suppose, one poses the question like this: 'What is wrong if the agricultural Labourers of a village enter the house of Landlord in the night, open the graneries and distribute the grain among themselves?' The answer to this question can be a question, 'why should they distribute only in the night, why not they do it in the day time?' The reply to this will be on these lines: 'night is more convenient than the day time. Those who are distributing would not be identified in the



night. No information can be given to the police about them. Even if some information is given, the Landlords can only say that some people came and took away the grain from his house. As a result, the police cannot raid and foist cases against the people'. A number of acts like this can be organised if the main purpose is to escape from the police cases. All the thefts and murders that are taking place in these days are only on these lines. It will not be known who has committed these acts. The cases would be filed, trail will go on and cases are struck off as the charges are not established. Things go on like this. But the agricultural labourers who had taken part in these acts would not have the consciousness that they are distributing the grain because it is their just right and they must protect the grain thus distributed from the attacks of police and landlords in the same way as they protect their own properties. Their consciousness will be one of saving themselves from the cases. The consciousness is not one of their own property and their own right, but that of stolen property. This stolen property will acquire some 'respectability' if it is done in the name of party.. Otherwise, it will not carry the respect. But, now a days, everything has become a tradition. Yet, there will be a difference between a conscious act and the act of different type. Yet, our friend may feel that 'such acts would, atleast, demoralise the landlords and cause a setback to their credibility. Our experience say, on occasions like this, his relatives, friends and even those belonging to rival political parties would come to his aid. They collect donations, if need be, to compensate his loss. Or, rob the people in the village and restore his grain. Thus they would project him as a hero. They try to enhance his name and fame, rather than allowing it to go down. Thus, even the minimum our friend expects cannot happen. Not only that. The agricultural labour and peasants can weaken the prestige of the landlords through their class consciousness and the strength of struggle, but not by any other indirect methods of this nature.

### **Establishment of gram raj in 3000 villages**

It is significant tonote that there was movement and struggle not only in Nalgonda and Warangal districts, but it



also extended to the areas adjoining to these two districts. The number of Gram Raj also increased as a consequence of this expansion. Assessment is, there were about 3000 Gram Raj. Till this day, no one has raised the doubt, whether the number was exactly 3000 or less? But there is one such a problem. Their number is nearly 3000. It can be more or less. The villages in the sphere of movement and where the squads were operating, when counted, came to nearly 3000. There can be instances where some villages were omitted or more were added. One argument often made in an attempt to denigrate the struggle, is: From a military point of view, no liberated areas have been established. Therefore, these villages cannot be called as base areas or liberated ones. This argument came after the union armed forces entered the scene. According to this argument, Nizam's military and police were carrying on attacks till the last moment. Therefore, they can be called only as 'guerrilla areas'. It is wrong to say as liberated areas. Reality is: we never called these areas as 'liberated' in the sense they were the base areas liberated by the guerrillas. We called them so from a political angle. When we said, that 3000 villages were liberated, we meant, in essence, the Nizam's rule has come to an end in these villages. This was a fact too. Their job was to loot when they were raiding the villages. They were not in a position to collect the taxes. They had no records with them. None of Nizam's laws were in vogue in the villages. In view of this, not only their rule and the entire political and administrative machinery were paralysed and came to stand-still but also ceased to exist. The village Rajs that came into vogue had become the parallel centres of power. Thus, 'dual power' has come into being. The rule of Nizam Government existed just in Hyderabad and cities. In villages, this government has not authority. Here, people's Raj was established. These were Called Gram Rajs. This way, two governments, two centres of Power and and Gram Rajs were established in 3000 villages. A government either at the level of State (Samsthanam) or Telangana has not yet come into existence. Though the Gram Rajs were not functioning under such a Government, they were working under the leadership of Party and Andhra Mahasabha. At the time, Andhra Maha Sabha was also not f functioning



well. It was not holding its meetings and adopting decisions. the centre of Andhra Mahasabha was also not functioning as there was severe repression and many Comrades were either in Jails or in the struggle areas. it was issuing some statements. The work was mainly carried on through Party centre and Party leadership. Generally, in situations like this, Provisional Governments are formed. But, nothing of the sort was formed. They retained these areas as Guerrilla areas and went ahead. Viewed in this light, these were not liberated areas in the military sense of the term. Politically, the rule of Nizam Government was put to an end in 3000 villages and a parallel rule a people's rule was established in its place. it must be kept in mind, the Party centre was Co-ordinating the rule of these 3000 villages.

### **Ten Thousand Armed Cadres:**

As there was a big upsurge among the people, countless number of youth had come to the fore to work,. They performed various types of responsibilities. Not only the youth, middle aged but also the old moved into action. Women, men and, to an extent, also children took part in this. When we counted all those who worked in guerrilla squads, villages defences squads, volunteer crops, village Committees, Party Organisation in 3000 villages-- all came to 10,000. They remained in the field and performed various tasks.

### **Central squads, Village**

### **Squads and Village Volunteer Crops**

The formation of Guerrilla squads was in three levels. There was Central Head Quarters at the Central level. There was Area Commander at the Area Centre. He will be the Member of Area Committee, or its Secretary. there was no division for military and political sections in the State Centre. But there was some such division in district centres. Once the District Committees were dissolved and Areas Committees were formed, the Area Commander has become a member of Area Committee. Sometimes, he was also the secretary of Area Committee. The Area Centre squads were working under the Area Committee. To start with, there existed one central squad.



These central squads were formed in greater number in all areas as more joined the squads, as experience has grown and more weapons came into the hands. These central squads were better in their training and capability. Their level also was relatively higher. These central squads were used in all important attacks.

In some cases, only one squad was carrying attacks. In some attacks, some squads were being combined. When the Central squads were sufficient in number more company squads have come up. Area commander was acting as their Commander. In this way, the number of Central squads came down. All this has become a burdensome. With this, Company squads were dissolved, squads of small size were formed, more capable from among them were taken into the central squads and the rest were sent to village squads. At the level of villages, there were village squads. Earlier, there were volunteer squads. Village defence squads were formed. These village defence squads with some political level and enough training were helping the central squads in the attacks in the neighboring villages. They were even leading their villages and were associated with and helpful to the central squads. They were confining themselves to village affairs. They were in the main helping the village Committees.

Generally, what existed there were central, local squads and village volunteer squads. When they were above the level of village volunteer squads, they were given weapons and the Central squads took their help. Here existed three levels of squads, i.e; Central squads, village squads that help them and the village volunteer squads which looked after the affairs of village. But, it must be said here that these were formed only in the areas that had developed to a greater extent.

### **People Saw Arms In Their Own Hands As a Symbol Of Their Own Power**

With the formation of these squads in an area the peoples' life underwent some changes. Formation of squad means arms coming into hands. Once the arms are in their hands a psychology and orientation has developed among the



agricultural labourers, poor peasants that the power has come into their hands, they have the strength to exercise this power and this power can be exercised against the landlords and Rajakars and to fight against them. Rajakars were not seen every day. They appeared only when they came to attack. It was landlords, their henchmen and their authority that were seen every day. Once the weapon came into their hand, the people became conscious that hence forth power belongs to them but not to landlords. This consciousness was most important. Many who call themselves as communist leaders or revolutionaries seem to have never realised this factor. Once the arm came into their hands they also saw it as another name for peoples power. They tried to use it to dictate their programme to the landlords and implement the same. This consciousness has deeper impact. Once the agricultural labourers and poor peasants are freed from the slavery, came to the fore as rulers their ideas and activities acquired a different nature. When the landlords are armed and people are unarmed, the people will be in the status of slaves and the landlords in the status of their owners. When the arms have come into the hands of people and the landlords too hold the arms, we find a situation when two forces are contending and struggling for power. When the people are armed by disarming the landlords, the people take the place of owners and landlords find themselves in an enslaved state. It seems, this factor was not realised by the Party leadership, importantly the central and state level leadership as much as it was realised by the people. Those who say that the struggle should have been withdrawn after the Police Action and those who say that this struggle only for land but not against Nehru regime and therefore it was correct to withdraw it at one stage seem to have not recognised this factor. In every struggle, every revolution for state power, this is crucial and fundamental issue. The people, especially, poor used the weapon as a symbol of their power. With this, they came to the fore to solve every problem, expressed their views fearlessly and also realised it as their responsibility. There are many instance where they did not think of doing any injustice to any one because the weapon has come into their hand and power has come to them. They had shown the consciousness



that they have a responsibility, the responsibility of running the Raj and they must behave in a responsible way. When a peasant or a labourer thought it as his responsibility to hand over a Rs 10/- note that he found on the road to the village Committee and Gram Raj, it was only a pointer to his consciousness. Had he been an old slave, he would have gladly pushed the note in his pocket and walked away. But now the Raj has come to him. Therefore, he has shown the consciousness that he should not use the Note but hand it over to Gram Raj. In the same way, when some people, tempted by old habits sought to steal the common property or the properties of peasants in the village the entire people came forward to punish him. This also was an indication of consciousness. The people made countless sacrifices and stood firm in the struggle defying looties and murders resorted to by the Razakars. This was also a part of the consciousness. It is necessary for the revolutionaries and those who are examining the revolution to understand this consciousness.

### **Participation of all the youth in the affairs of village**

There was almost no youth who simply sat in the house. All of them were participating in the affairs of village while, at the same, carrying on their agricultural work. Elders in the families were sending the youth to take part in these activities. Even where the youth themselves are the heads of family, they were attending both the agricultural work as well as the activities of village. Some times, they were giving more time for the later. They were performing their share of responsibilities. In the initial days of movement, there was a rule that one from each family should carry on party's or Sangham's work. This rule has emerged from the people themselves. When the party made a general appeal in a gathering of people that the people should come forward to work in the party and sangham, the people then and there declared that they would definitely do so. They decided that one from each family should work for the party and village and carried out the decision. Those were the days when joint families were greater in number. Whether the land was less or more, the middle peasants, rich peasants. and landlords almost all were living in joint families. The landlords were living in joint families with a view to retain their hold. The



rich, middle peasants and even the rest were living in joint families to retain their own influences. Because of this, those having a surplus had more of it. Those who had no surplus, were economically supported. Thus the rule of one from each family was observed where they were in joint families. When the struggle has gone to higher level, instead of 'one from each family' all the youth came to the fore to join it. Where there was none to help the family, the youth were giving some time for it. But, a greater number and almost the entire youth were doing one or other work of the Party and Sangham in accordance with their own capacities. Those who had some education, were looking after teaching affair. There are instances where they ran night schools and worked as teachers. Similarly, in the affairs of village the matters connected to trade, prices etc, the youth connected to business were consulted. The opinions of those connected to the production of agricultural implements were given importance when the matters like the rates of agricultural implements and the type of tree to be cut were to be decided. All those youth were coming to the fore to help in taking the decisions. Thus, the youth connected to those works were coming to the fore and helping in carrying out various types of works. In this way, every one in the village was on the move and performing one or other responsibility. This is most important factor.

## **Role of women**

Participation of women was another significant feature. They were helpful in every way to their menfolk in the families. Did they work as volunteers to an extent? In the social conditions in those days, it was not possible for them to remain seperate and work in the nights. There were also opportunities for them to take part in still higher level of activity. Here, we can mention one instance to know this.

One squad has gone to a village. It was already evening when it reached the place. Therefore it halted there so that the squad members can have food, rest and proceed for their destiny. There will be no raids after the evening. The raids again would start either early hours in the morning or around 8.0 AM. In the meanwhile, it was possible to spend 12-14 hour's time



freely and with no difficulty. One or two members of the squad also belonged to that village. The squad leaders sent them to their homes. Rest of the squad members stayed at a place convenient for rest. Arrangements for food were made for the squad. Then, there was some light. Some ladies between 16 to 20 and 22 years age came to see the squad members and the squad. They stood at some distance to the squad. They were interested in something. But they could not say. Then the party leader called the squad members and the squad leader and told them, 'see, they have come. It seems, they want something. They want to ask something. All of them are ladies. They may be interested to see the weapons and know how they work. One or two of you go to them with your weapons and explain them how they work'. The squad went to them and asked, 'are you interested to see the weapons?' They nodded their heads. Then, they were brought to a place and had shown the weapons one after the other. This squad had good weapons like 303 rifles, shot guns and 'country made guns. These three types of weapons were shown one after the other and explained how they work. Bullets were shown. It was explained how they come out when they were hit. Magazine was taken out and explained how it works. It was explained, how the trigger is to be pressed, where it hits and also its entire mechanism. All the parts of the guns were separated and explained. All the ladies had seen with great interest. They touched and tried to press the trigger. They saw the entire programme with great interest and attention. In one sense, this was a pointer to their consciousness. Today, even the elders are frightened to see the guns. Same was the situation even in those days. More educated feared more. More propertied feared more. Even in such a situation, the young women coming to the fore to know about the guns and their mechanism was an important feature in their consciousness. All these women belonged to ordinary peasant and agricultural labour families. The women had shown the affection and closeness that all the squad members belonged to them. This was most important factor. It seemed that the consciousness has grown among the women and the conditions were ripe in the last days for their recruitment into squads in a big way.



## Literature and art that developed in the period of struggle --- some aspects

Some literature has come up during this period. In Circar (central districts under British rule) districts and other areas, some Novels and stories had come up in the later period, but not much during this period. Importantly, there appeared more literature like songs, burrakatha, yakshagana and veedhi Bhagavatam to inspire the people. All these were written by the cadre, educated sections and those inspired by this struggle. They include those composed by the illeterates. These were good in number. Songs and Burrakathas were inspiring. The people of this area waged a heroic struggle against Jennareddi Pratap reddy under the leadership of squads. Yadagri, who became a Martyr, had no education, what so ever. He knew nothing like writing. Yet, he composed an inspiring and popular song against Deshmukh Jannareddi Pratap Reddy ("oh Pratap Reddy carts....."). Originally, this song was directed only against the feudal landlord. But, later the anti-nizam on spect was also included in it. Just one and two months before the Police Action (Attack by union armed forces), when the resistance was intense, this Deshmukh used to go to Hyderabad secretly. The people thought that he was going with a chain of 16 bullock carts keeping it secret which cart was carrying him. He belonged to Errababu. There was no road, no bus service. Perhaps, he was going by a Jeep escorted by the army. Bullock carts were carrying his material. Yadagiri composed the song seeking this. This kind of literature was produced on a massive scale.

The people were singing these songs. Then the guerrilla squads were having cultural squads connected to them. At a time when they were taking rest and not within the reach of army and camps, they were entertaining themselves with songs and games. Not only squads, even the people were provided with this kind of entertainment. Entire time in the day, they were spending in the fields expecting raids from the enemy. By evening, they were reaching their homes as there was no danger of raids at the time. After finishing cooking and other house-hold work, the people were gathering at a place after 9.0 clock in the night. Here, they were spending time with story



telling, Burrakatha and such cultural activity. But in one stage, a situation has emerged where raids were impossible in the nights. Therefore, they lived without any worry. Yet, as a precaution, they were keeping a sentry on duty.

It was in these conditions, the literature has developed. Songs and Burra Kathas, etc were produced on Martyrs. Such songs, Burra Kathas and other literature had come up when a squad leader called Gopal Reddy and Pasunooru Venkat Reddy in Nalgonda taluka died in the struggle. The people remember them even today. They remained alive in peoples memory.

Yakshaganas, Veedhi Bhagavatams and such things had come up in the art forms. These forms were there already, but they were used more effectively and in a big way. Generally, the boys, when they were grazing the cattle in the fields were enacting these plays. One was acting like a landlord, other as a peasant, cooli and another as landlord's agent. The boy in landlord's role was behaving in all authoritarian manner, the peasant and cooli (boys) were appearing to be humble and submissive to the landlord, in the begining. Later, they were getting organised in a sangham and carrying on the struggle under the leadership of Sangham. Beating the landlord and such things were happening. In some places, this drama was turning into a real play. Some times, the boy in the role of landlord was beating the boys in peasant and cooli roles severely causing bleeding. In some other times, the peasant and cooli boys were severely beating the boy in landlord, role in the scene of revolt. The village people were advising the boys not to go to such an extent. At the same time, they were enjoying the same. The Yakshaganas and Veedhi Bhagavatas were being displayed to these children. The people were doing all this on their own as part of the play. The people were singing the songs of Sangham widely. They were singing when they were watering the paddy crops, and when they were grazing the cattle. In a word, the songs have become a part of their life and activity. All the time, these were the songs of Sangham and none else. Through out Telangana, particularly, in every nook and corner of struggle areas, the entire people were enjoying these songs. This development, which has so deeply entrenched among the



people was really astonishing. The people, particularly youth whether literate or not composed or written these songs. Women, men, elders, children-all were singing them. The old songs that depicted Ramayana, Bharata disappeared. No one was bothered about them. Every one was asking only for the songs of Sangham and only these songs were being sung. In circar districts (British-ruled districts), there was campaign for decades against Ramayana and such things under the leadership of Rationalist and Atheist Organisations. No such campaign was there in Telangana areas. Whatever was there, it was very little. It was confined to some educated sections in cities. The general mass of people were not aware of it. But in the course of struggle, the people pushed the Pouranic things aside and sang these and some other songs that were closer to their own life and struggle. This development must be understood well. The people will give more importance to the propaganda that is closer to their life, rather than the one, that has nothing to do with it. The people will not lend their ear to other problems and unnecessary things when they are in the thick of struggle. There we are pouranic things that they knew and liked. But, in the period of struggle, they do not think of them. What all they want is struggle and its victory. Since the songs reflected the problems of struggle, in the main, they sang them and marched forward.

### **Unity Among Castes and Religions in the course of Struggle**

In the same way, all the caste and religious differences disappeared. There are several instances where, even though the Razakars were Muslims and they waged attacks, the people were kind and behaved liberally towards the Muslims. One incident was much prominently talked about. There was a police camp in Gundrampally village. It was on the high way between Vijayawada and Hyderabad. A Muslim family came to this village to perform a marriage. They were happy and fearless as there was a police camp. That day the guerrilla squads carried on an attack on this camp. They pushed the police into defensive and forced the police, razakars and military in the camp to flee. In this situation, the marriage party was left with



no protection. Then they sent a message to the squad leaders appealing that there's is a marriage party and they need protection. Another story is, the bride herself came to the squad with a plea that 'we have committed no wrong and hence be given protection.' The squad gave full protection to the family and allowed it to go. With this, a propaganda has widely spread in Hyderabad that the squads are behaving in a humanitarian and kind manner, they are only carrying on the struggle but are not killing Muslims and innocent people. This incident greatly helped to enhance the prestige of the party and squads. Several incidents of this nature occurred on various occasions. The people took part in the struggle without any consideration to caste or religion. The people achieved this unity in the course of struggle. However, the people belonging to christianity remained neutral before the struggle. They joined it in the later period. There are many instances where particularly , the youth from agricultural labourers jointed the squads, became squad leaders and heroically fought. There was a squad in Jajireddigudem area. There was a squad in the middle of Musi, which was in a position to command both areas between Nalgonda and Suryapet. There were Christians in the squad leaders and squad members. There was one squad leader, called as John, who later died. In this way, Christians too had taken part in the armed struggle. Even those who were worshipping Nizam, changed their attitude, participated in the struggle and helped it with no consideration to religion.

### **Some Moral Principles and Discipline**

A new type of culture has developed on the basis of this consciousness. We must call it a new democratic culture. The moral principles concerning this culture also had taken shape. The squads never mis behaved with the families of landlords. They never thought that they can do so because the landlords were their enemies .Even after the weapons had come into their hands they did not touch the things other than those they decided when they happened to go to the houses of landlords. Some mistakes might have occured, but the general feature remained not to touch other things. If they went for weapons, they confined to them. They never touched women. they were



so strict with regard to women that the landlord women stayed back in their houses with no fear of danger and peacefully. Their husbands and men- folk alone ran away to cities. They were confident that the Communists and their squads would never misbehave with women and they protect, women if need be and cause no harm to them. The landlords, who exploited and committed atrocities against people fled away to cities apprehending danger to their lives. Some sought to suppress the movement bringing the police and military with them for attacks. Such people, to a larger extent, shifted to cities along with their families.

There are instances where the families of landlords did not turn against the party and squads even after the landlords were killed because they accompanied the military and police and joined them in torturing and shooting the people to death. It is because, they clearly knew the programme of squads and Party. They felt, these killings were not an act of revenge and they were killed because the landlords behaved like police and military in killing the people and in capturing the squads. Some did not turn against the Party also because they believed that it was not party's policy to resort to atrocities against women and families.

The party also set a rule in the context of land distribution. It was making it clear to all in the village that a landlord who does not lead an idle life and who is ready to toil along with his family will be treated as a rich peasant and the party will not distribute his land. As a result, many small landlords began working in the fields along with their families. Naturally, they have done like this with a view to save their properties. It appears, these landlords, left with no alternative, abandoned one of their natural and important quality of a landlord to save their lands. This decision helped them to change their attitude of treating 'toiling as opposed to their prestige, and remaining idle as a greatness' to one of toiling. Thus an effort was made to bring a change in the orientation and ideas. Their results were also there to see. However, all the landlords did not change like this. There were landlords who resorted to atrocities relying themselves on the police and military. There were some landlords who remained in the village, entered into a compromise with the party, left some land and retained some. Those landlords, even if it be for the purpose of saving the land, who agreed to abandon one of the main characteristic of a landlord



and to undergo a change culturally come under the third category. Though it has not taken place in a big way, it happened to an extent.

### **A New Life for the First Time After Some Thousands of Years**

In this way, a new life has begun and developed in the rural areas. It has no relation with previous life. Before the armed struggle, it was a life of slavery. The attempt to break and take the process of breaking the chains of servitude had begun and first blow was hit right from the beginning of struggle in 1940. Once the people took up arms and began the armed struggle they gained the consciousness. Initially, they felt that now they are the owners and those on the opposite side are fighting them in an equal position. Once the landlords threw up their weapons and ran away to the cities the people gained the consciousness where they began to feel that now the landlords have turned into slaves, and the people, meaning themselves, had become the owners. This was a new life a life that has come into existence on this basis for the first time after some thousands of years. Though the people suffered a lot as a result of police raids and their farming activity faced many hurdles, every family in the village ate full of their stomach, wore the cloths that fully covered their bodies in this new life. More importantly, they led a new, conscious life with self respect. 'All the people were equal. While the landlords are slaves, they are owners' -- The people lived with this consciousness. They held their heads high. They wiped out the vices that usually exist in the society and developed the good qualities of sacrifice and achieving a thing through struggle for a cause. They lived as participants, leaders and representatives of a new society. This life got weakened in the later period. This, of course, is a different matter.

### **Peoples Democratic Economic, Political, Military and Cultural System That Took Shape in The Period of Struggle**

From an examination of all this it will be clear that the armed struggle brought a revolutionary change in the rural life and the life of people. With this, a new life has set in the villages. This was a peoples democratic life. A Change of this kind is possible only through a revolution. The changes like poverty eradication and ending the unemployment brought by this



revolution in the rural life could not be achieved either by the Congress governments in 36 years or the governments of other parties even after spending crores of rupees. These changes were brought in one year's period through revolutionary movement. With this, a new economic system has come into existence. A new political system has taken a shape with the establishment of Gram Rajs. In place of hired men, a new military organization with guerrilla squads composed of people's children has come into existence to defend the land and houses of people. Not only that. The local squads maintained law and order while looking after their own works. Thus a new law and order system has come into vogue. Along with a new economic and political life, a new cultural life also has come into existence. There were no thefts, all began to have education; prostitution came to an end; women enjoyed the right of divorce; women took part in all activities in accordance with their consciousness and organisation. Besides this, people worked hard; they adopted one attitude towards those who are a part of peoples armed forces and another attitude towards the disarmed enemies. Thus it was a stage when the culture and moral principles of higher order had come into existence. We must note, the new democratic culture was not the one that can be learnt from books but also culture that was in practice in the period from September 1947 to sept' 1948.

This economic, political, military and cultural system has taken a shape in the last 3-4 months of this period. Earlier, it was in the formative stage. Then, the struggle areas were in the level of guerrilla areas. The liberated area has not yet come into existence. Hence, then there was no possibility for this system to take a comprehensive shape. Yet, such a new system taking shape in practice is a matter of immense significance.





# UNCLE SAM ON BRIGANDAGE

The US missile attacks on targets in Afghanistan and Sudan created a situation for the rest of the World in which targets in every country can be the objects of US military action on the basis of what it likes to call it to be an act in the interests of national security. This show of brute might at the flimsiest pretexts is only intended to warn the world that Uncle Sam is there to make you fall in line.

The so-called reason shown by the US administration is self-defense from terrorism. It is claimed to have been undertaken against groups responsible for the bombing of US embassies at Nairobi and Dar-es-Salam. But it is a ploy.

First the attack on a pharmaceutical factory in Khartoum, Sudan a sovereign country and has a government recognised by the UN. It is one of the most impoverished countries and presently in the grip of severe drought and starvation. There were no accusations that the Sudanese government was even remotely connected with attacks on US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The factory had been granted sanction by the UN to supply essential medicines to Iraq as a part of the oil-for-food programme. The accusation that this factory is a chemical weapons facility is preposterous. The only evidence is that the US had "information"! A British minister told the House of Commons as late as April, 1998 that the "government cannot validate" reports of Sudan building chemical weapons facility; "We are monitoring the evidence closely, but to the date there is no evidence to substantiate the claims..., and we know some of the claims to be untrue." Yet the Tony Blair's government immediately and unreservedly supported the missile attacks. That this is a big hoax has been shown to the entire world by Sudan. The Sudanese government invited the UN and other international agencies to inspect the bombed factory. Sudan said that if they found evidence that the factory had been manufacturing chemical weapons, it would withdraw the protest it had lodged with the UN Security Council. Sudan also maintained, if authorities do not find any evidence to support the US accusation, the UN should condemn the US action on Sudan. Every one maintained convenient silence. Hypocrisy is their name.



The attack on Afghanistan is no less outrageous. During the 1970s the US media had credited Ivan Ramirez Sanchez aka Carlos with almost all incidents of terrorism and called him "the Jackal". The new jackal in 1990s is Osama bin Laden. Not ironically both were promoted by the CIA. When the US asked Taliban government to extradite Laden, it said that Laden had been given sanctuary in Afghanistan on the condition that he would not involve in any terrorist activity outside the country. It asked the US to provide proof of his involvement in the blasts to help to make a decision. The proof came in the form of missiles pouring bombs. And it is not the Laden and his bunch of terrorists supposed to be hiding that are dead, but the innocent people of Afghanistan and Pakistan.

On his part, bin Laden claimed credit for the bombing of the US military base in Dhahran in Saudi Arabia in 1996. He openly proclaimed that he is acting to overthrow Saudi monarchy and demanded withdrawal of US troops from Arabian peninsula. He has every right to do so being a citizen of Saudi Arabia. He considered the American rulers as the "biggest thief" and "biggest terrorist", which is of course true.

Thus, the US missile strikes are acts of brigandage and a clear violation of international law. This is not the first time that the US has resorted to such terrorist action. After the attacks, Washington has been seeking to portray itself as the "global avenger of terrorism" and the minions like Vajpayee are claiming their share in the cake. Cuban exile groups backed by CIA have been engaged in terrorist acts since 1960s which included ten murder attempts on Fidel Castro and blowing up of Cuban civilian planes. The Zionist attacks on Palestinians have the full backing of US. In Nicaragua, the terrorist campaign conducted by "contras" (once Nixon claimed himself as "contra") against Sandinista government is still fresh in the minds of Latin Americans. The shooting down of Iranian airbus by the US Navy during the Iran-Iraq war is another example. The US had been launching missiles on Iraq at the slightest hint of what it calls the provocation. It has attempted to assassinate Libyan president Gaddafi by bombing his residence. The US had spent billions of dollars to arm and train the Mujahideens



in Afghanistan and supplied them with stringer missiles. Saudi Arabia and Pakistan supported it. Taliban was a product of US terrorist policy in Afghanistan while bin Laden is their counterpart in Saudi Arabia. The way the so-called Albanian Liberation Army is being equipped and trained by NATO and US to create a living hell in the Balkans, and the instigation and support of islamic fundamentalist forces in Algeria leaving one lakh people dead exemplified the US as harbinger of terrorism. Imperialism and its servants in the third world are grooming, inciting and tolerating terrorism as long as it serves as a tool in their hands, targets civilians, which, in effect, paves the way for launching 'counter-terrorism'-an euphemism for brutal repression of the people by the State. It legitimised all kinds of means, including the most repungnent and cruel methods, to perpetuate the unequal and exploitative system. It is more so when it arrogates itself as lone super power.

The US missile attacks were particularly ominous as few of its missiles strayed into South Asia killing innocent Pakistani people. The US do not even apologise for its missile entering into Pakistani territory. This signifies that the US imperialism thinks that it has every right to dump any kind of weapon and violate air space and territorial integrity of the South Asian countries. Surely, this should not go unchallenged and unprotested.

If the Indian government protested, as was the case with Pakistan, it would definitely have gone a long way in restoring conducive atmosphere among the people of Pakistan and India. But, the strikes were music to the ears of Hindu fascists as they felt that it vindicated their stand that the Kashmir problem would vanish into thin air once the trans-border support from Pakistan was stopped. That is why the saffron gang leader L.K.Advani said that "terrorism is being better understood by others now". According to him the missile strikes "strengthened India's point of view" and willingly walked into the trap of "counter-terrorism". He advised Clinton to initiate "international Joint action against terrorism". Thus, the BJP led government supported the utterly indefensible and wholly deplorable violation of international law by the US. The



pussilanimous nature of BJP is quite evident in its silence when the foreign ministry spokesman of US chided them that the US missile strikes do not automatically mean that India can use its missiles against its adversaries. And striking any country with missiles is the prerogative of the US. The hindu fascists are not worried about the perils of such a policy of supporting US brigandage. It willingly supported an act that could well be used as a precedent, a justification even against India in future. For these saffron-clad swadeshi preachers the "security concerns of the US" are more important than the interests of Indian people.

History has amply showed that such terror tactics will soon boomerang. The harbinger of terrorism should pay for it. The US is bound to face increasing resistance from the world people. It has already been expressed in the anger of African and Arab countries. On the other side, the perpetrators of international terrorism were shook to the core by the growing terrorism in their homeland. Most of the well publicised terrorist attacks in the US were the handiwork of white supremacists and fundamentalist christian militia that claim to be answerable only to God.

So long as terrorists indulge in individual terrorism, the US and exploiting classes have nothing to seriously worry about. For terrorism is not peoples war. They tolerate and even encourage it with a view to legitimise their own counter revolutionary violence, terrorism and sole authority to trample the struggle for independence of the countries, liberation of the nations and revolution of the people. Let us rely on people and their inexhaustible revolutionary potential to burry imperialism along with its reactionary allies.





**PAPER:**

## **POKHRAN TESTS:**

### **Political and Scientific Dimensions**

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(This paper was presented to the Anti-Nuclear Seminar Organised by Organisation for Protection of Democratic Rights, A.P. (OPDR) at Hyderabad on August 9, 1998. **Editor**)

It is a pleasure and a privilege to share one's antinuclear views with friends who agree. But in an open society we must always bear in mind the other friends, who disagree. And, on this issue, many of us in the urban middle classes have chosen to support the May 1998 Pokhran tests. Anything we have to say must address them, too.

I would like to suggest that nuclear testing itself is one manifestation of a deeper problem - the Nuclear Complex. This is a widely found, possibly universal evil, like environmental pollution. Therefore the struggle against it must be global. The Nuclear Complex is an enemy of openness, an obstacle preventing truly public debate, a force that tends to suppress the free discussion that makes possible true scientific achievements that give people both national pride and a better physical and cognitive life.

In these brief remarks, I begin by making a political-economic point challenging the claim that the 1998 Pokhran tests are a rational military action that leads us towards a credible deterrent. Then I make a second, scientific point challenging the claim that tests constitute a scientific achievement the nation should celebrate. In that part of my argument, I address the grossly distorted priorities in research, neither truly nationalist nor scientifically defensible, that are induced by the Nuclear Complex.

My first point about the 1998 Pokhran tests has to do with the BJP government's projection of these tests as a step towards building a credible nuclear deterrent. Given Pakistan's special relationships with China and the United States, a



scenario involving India threatening the use of nuclear weapons against Pakistan would further involve facing similar threats from, say, the United States, which the Indian armed forces cannot credibly defend us against, on any projections. In other words, India has no such option as the construction of a credible nuclear deterrent. If this is so, what is the true nature of the option the BJP government really has exercised, for which all this nuclear talk is a standard smoke screen? If we unmask the real war programme the BJP has launched this May, removing the nuclear pretense, what do we find?

We find a familiar programme for economic warfare. The BJP regime wishes to whip up militaristic, chauvinistic sentiments and ensure that governments in both India and Pakistan, unchecked by public debate, can from now on keep diverting the attention, energy, and resources of the people from productive and socially useful sectors to the unproductive military sector. This method of economic warfare may give India, with greater resources, an edge over Pakistan, which can afford a nuclear arms race even less than India can. But we need to see that this path also ensures that right-wing, fundamentalist forces will have a political advantage in both India and Pakistan for some years to come, for it is very easy to fan fundamentalist passions, and very difficult to cool them down. And the right wing has traditionally stood for an economic sellout to the global forces of conservatism, such as the imperialism of the obvious American variety—more concretely, as the cross-national elite alliances now stand, the MNC's based in the United States.

The Nuclear Complex makes it difficult for us to see through the apparent tech-scientific war game, difficult to perceive the economic war strategy it masks--- the war strategy of selling out the nation's interests so that the elites of India and Pakistan, in league with the MNC's, can win. We therefore need to pursue the Nuclear Complex into the domain which gives it considerable and nearly unchallenged strength: Our universities, where the right wing's scholarly ally, scientific fundamentalism, has most of our thinking in its pathological grip. This brings me to my second point. Do the Pokhran tests exemplify



scientific achievements that deserve national self-congratulation of the sort the government has asked for and even the opposition has been happy to provide? Is this real science? The Second part of my argument is an attempt to show, step by step, that this is not what real science is about.

We in the third world are normally cast by the world scientific establishment in the subordinate role of being driven to applied research by the supposedly extra-scientific reason that poverty compels us to spend our time finding locally relevant applications of the supposedly more serious and truly scientific work done in the affluent societies. This attitude, if adopted, leaves our thinking constantly on the verge of a voluntary surrender to the superior intellectual resources we attribute to a Western pure science establishment.

However, we need not remain trapped in this servile attitude. We have other options, and the point is to try them. Suppose we begin to identify, and to resist, the forces of scientific fundamentalism which trap us in this mind-set that gives primacy to pure research over applied research; primacy to physics over chemistry; primacy to physical sciences over life sciences; primacy to the 'hard' natural sciences over the 'soft' humanities and social sciences. Suppose we question the idea of reductionism which underlies the general impression that macro-economics might be reducible to micro-economics, sociology reducible to psychology, psychology to biology, biology to chemistry, and chemistry plus most of physics reducible to particle physics. This picture, which makes particle physics the fundamental science and subordinates all other orders of reality to it, actually emanates from the ghost of older thinking-which, though scientifically obsolete, is still enshrined in our conventional road map telling us where the various sciences are situated relative to each other.

What older thinking? And why do I call it scientifically obsolete if it is still strong enough to shape our perceptions of research priorities?

To unpack the idea, I shall identify two of the relevant older thoughts which haunt us even though, when we face them and ask if they are legitimate, they cannot stand up to



scrutiny. They have a hold on us when we fail to question them, as in the case of our road map of the sciences. The first of these older thoughts is the Sharp Causal Boundary Idea or SCBI, the idea that separately specifiable causes and effects can be observed or postulated, at least ideally, in a scientific account of basic or crucial events. The second older thought is Pure Research Independently Viable, or PRIV, the idea that context-free pure research can reach independently viable conclusions which contextualized applied replications in local case studies merely spell out in optional detail.

SCBI can be quickly unpacked as follows. The typical events and phenomena can be normally gathered into cause-effect links in a scientific reasoning chain. Such a link takes the standard form of events of type A being regularly and predictably followed by events of type B. The construction of longer chains of this type and of broader inter-chain connections is the task of science. Cases that seem recalcitrant to its work are not typical and disappear with the progress of research. Notice that this mind-set, whichever its suitability for gravity and apple issues, makes it impossible to approach chicken and egg issues typical of the life sciences, where cycles are the norm and the causal question of before-after has to be contextualized in the cycle within which time itself, or the basis of the specifications of before and of after themselves, must be defined.

PRIV lends itself also to a quick unpacking in the same spirit-- of stating the *puurvapaksha*-- in which I offer the above formulation of SCBI. In both cases, sympathetic exponents would of course speak in a different tone of voice! The thought that Pure Research is Independently Viable rests its case on examples where many people have thought that one can usefully ask and answer questions like "What is a city? Does urbanization help or harm its surrounding countryside?" without first specifying which city, and where, and when. The type of reasoning that PRIV encourages proposes abstract general concepts like City, Urbanization, Growth, and suggests that one first construct approximate equations relating them in certain ways, only later going on to supposedly applied and secondary questions concerning this or that context in which



concrete social actors and institutions are going to examine, and make decisions about, particular cities and growth patterns. PRIV in other words claims that the concepts for pure research are available in a context-free format, to which you can then choose to add or not add the information (the coordinates). In a language that some thinkers may prefer, PRIV is thus the claim that it is normally useful to let abstract analysis of abstract situations precede concrete analysis of concrete situations.

SCBI has been refuted in the life sciences especially after the advent of the environmental emphasis. I am personally indebted to a botanist, H.Y. Mohanram, for explaining to me in the mid 1980s that SCBI collapses in the face of the demonstration in the life sciences that a typical action is a process that involves one living system cyclically and repeatedly affecting another living web of series and cycles, with the repetitions blurring the boundary between cause-event, effect-event, and process-monitoring-event. Once scientists in general abandon SCBI not just as a hypothesis but even as a mind-set-factor, the notion of the reducibility of one science to another simply disappears. This abandonment has been taking time. But it is irreversible.

PRIV is an old thought which now flies in the face of the new scientific realization that matter, energy, and information are co-primes (with specific types of inter convertibility). Given that information (such as the contextual specifications, the thisness or thatness, of particular entities and agents involved in what one's inquiry is about) is a prime and does not dissolve into matter and energy alone, the work done on phenomenon P at address A does not immediately extend to what you choose to call phenomenon P at address B. Your decision to call it the same P across the A/B difference is a moot point and needs justification. Therefore applied research is the concrete, default form in which inquiry normally proceeds. Supposedly "pure" research, proposing to generalize across many contexts, thereby ascends a ladder of abstraction and cannot claim to be "basic research" in the sense which this all too frequent expression is intended to convey. The viability of pure research, contrary to the old thought PRIV, is in fact dependent on the demonstrated viability of a reasonable range of basic case



studies. You have to show that these cases can serve as a foundation for some body of proposed pure research which they instantiate.

Suppose we question SCBI and PRIV, find them inappropriate, and drop them. We then also drop the hierarchical relations between the various forms of inquiry. We see that the only "basic" fact is, not the so-called elementary particles, but the pervasive fact of patterns which come in all shapes and sizes and thus underlie a whole array of equally important or "basic" domains of inquiry. Once we see this, we are compelled to ask why certain forms of research, such as work on particle physics, should be given any fundamentality. The only factor that could motivate such a privilege for one field over another is scientific fundamentalism, the scholarly ally of a political-economic system that tries to gear the enterprise of science, which should be an open and democratic arena of debate, to the imagined secretive needs of a defence system and a militaristic state.

We in contrast, would prefer a system that would genuinely protect and not just pretend to "defend" the rights of the people, and would help meet their often locally conceived and articulated needs. Our ally in academia is any force, working in the science, which will help all concerned to realize clearly the scientific as well as social priority of applied research. For clarity on these matters serves the cause of increasing the accountability of scientific discussion, a democratic system of limited scope, to the large social fabric of an open-ended, public debate that democracy on a large and more serious canvas. Such clarity also serves the related cause of an authentic nationalism which, contrary to what my colleague S.G.Kulkarni has called BJP's pseudo-nationalism, encourages Indians to perceive that the locally relevant applied research that comes naturally (or should come naturally) to us in the third world deserves priority not just on the grounds of socio-political Justice, but on the basis of strictly academic considerations as well.

That academic researchers often hastily and inappropriately think otherwise is an index of how dark and long a shadow the Nuclear Complex casts on academic inquiry, and how much work still awaits us as we painfully outgrow our long ingrained assumptions of inferiority and impulses of surrender. ★



## Struggle Against Nizam

### FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO DISTORT HISTORY

The reactionary classes and parties oppose the struggles for fundamental changes in society. They work to the end to suppress, frustrate or divert such struggles into safe channels. All this is quite normal.

All the struggles for fundamental changes cannot be expected to continue to the end. Owing to objective and subjective reasons, they may stop in the half way or face a temporary defeat. Yet, the significance of these struggles will not disappear. Their achievements do not go waste. The memories of these struggles live long in the hearts of people.

Naturally, the reactionary classes and their parties would be disturbed by this situation because they are afraid that the continuing memories of past struggles may lead to the revival of struggle with more strength and determination. Therefore, it becomes necessary for them to distort the past struggles, and sling mud at the political force that really led those struggles. They also try to capitalise the fruits of those struggles.

The *Hangama* done by the Congress and BJP on September 17, 1998 in Hyderabad in the name of Golden Jubilee Celebrations of Hyderabad State's Liberation (sept 17, 1948) was only a part of this attempt.

On this day, there were three programmes in Hyderabad. One in Gandhi Bhavan (Congress), another at Ravindra Bharati (Official programme) and the third at Nizam College Grounds (BJP). All the organisers of these programmes see the Military Action of Sept 13-18, 1948 by the Indian Union in Telangana as an act of liberation. They see the anti-Nizam struggle as only a struggle to integrate the Hyderabad State in the Indian Union. While the Congress sought to project its role in the main in the struggle, conceding some role to Communists, the BJP went all out in its venomous attacks against the Communists and in its bid to grab the initiative and lead in championing the cause and significance of Nizam state's liberation.

BJP is known for its methods of offensive propaganda



barrowed from Gobbles. Perhaps, it believes that it can easily hypnotise and befool the people and sell its stuff by combining these methods with its abundant resources.

On the eve of 50th anniversary of Nizam State's integration in the Indian Union, the BJP formed a committee to celebrate this Golden Jubilee in Andhra Pradesh. It has released the cassettes of songs and other propaganda material. It sent the chariots of Golden Jubilee Celebrations mounted by the party leaders and film stars to different districts in Telangana. On Sept 17, 1998, it held a public meeting in Hyderabad (Nizam College Grounds) with L.K.Advani as star speaker. Here, it honoured some "freedom fighters."

The theme of BJP's campaign ran like this: The integration of Nizam's state was a victory of Hindu people over Muslim king; The Police Action of Sept 13-18, 1948 masterminded by the "Iron Man" Sardar Patel made this liberation possible. In his speech, L.K.Advani-whom the BJP and RSS project as an inheritor and incarnation of "Iron man" of yester years -spat venom against Communists by charging them of colluding with Razakars in the attempts to keep the Hyderabad state independent. Here the BJP sought to turn the history upside down in an attempt to reap some benefit. But, it will be a futile exercise.

### **Telengana People's Struggle can neither be Vulgarised nor Wiped Out**

At no stage the anti-Nizam struggle was directed against the Muslims. The leadership opposed the arbitrary imposition of Urdu. But, it never opposed the right of Muslim population to respect and use their own mother tongue. Andhra Movement was only championing the right of Telugu speaking people to respect, use and develop their own mother tongue and culture.

Nizam happened to be a Muslim. He sought to utilise his own religious background to strengthen the support base for his oppressive and autocratic rule among the muslim population. But, in class terms, the Nizam state was based on and stood as a protector and representative of oppressive feudal system. Overwhelming masses of people in the Nizam state-whether Muslims or Hindus, Marathis, Telugu or Kannada-



speaking were in contradiction with it and fought against it as all of them were victims of feudal exploitation, oppression and Nizam's autocratic rule. The Communist Party which led this heroic struggle united the people of various religions and languages in the course of this struggle.

Initially, the struggle against Nizam was focussed on language and culture and some aspects of political rights. It represented democratic and national aspirations. But even a passive and legal form of protest to realise these aspirations was sought to be suppressed by the Nizam State. The people learnt through experience that they can not carry this struggle in isolation from the struggle against this economic and social oppression. The struggle has advanced to the level of striking at the very foundations of feudal system. The development of struggle put various political forces to test. It polarised them. Liberal and reform-oriented elements belonging to Congress had to give way to radical and revolution-oriented forces and place the Communists in the vanguard of the struggle. Thus, the cultural movement has gradually developed into an all embracing revolutionary movement directed against feudalism and Nizam's state. Those who see or project the struggle against Nizam as just a struggle for language and some cultural and political rights or for the creation of favourable conditions for the integration of Nizam's state in the Indian union are only emasculating it from its main content, i.e., overthrowing feudalism and autocratic state. It is no surprise for the parties of ruling classes like Congress and BJP to indulge in such an attempt as they stepped into the shoes of Nizam and British colonialists to serve feudalism and imperialism.

### **State of Nizam at the Time of Police Action**

By the time the Indian Union resorted to Police Action (Sept 13, 1948) in Nizam state, the anti-feudal and anti-Nizam struggle was in advanced stage. The peasant revolutionary movement and armed struggle won many victories. Led by the Communist Party, the landless and poor peasants seized and distributed 1000000 acres of land; established Gram Raj in 3000 village. 10000 people were organised in various levels of armed formations under the leadership of party. With feudal



authority overthrown and Nizam's rule virtually collapsed and confined to Hyderabad and few towns the people were enjoying a free and democratic life in the villages. The people were reorganising their economic, social and political life on new lines, establishing new cultural and moral values and were running their own affairs. The armed formations of people with the active support and participation of people were successfully repulsing the attacks of Nizam's police and Razakars on the villages. The peoples revolutionary movement and armed struggle were growing in strength to be able to liberate Telangana from the yoke of feudalism and Nizam's rule. Nizam was facing a through isolation among the people. Police Action came in this situation. The quick, smooth and dramatic surrender and integration of Nizam's state only explains this pathetic state of Nizam at the time.

### **So-Called Liberatin Struggle led by Congress Men**

At the time of transfer of power on August 15, 1947 the British colonialists, in connivance with the Congress and Muslim league leaderships, not only imposed a partition of the country on communal lines, but also kept the question of integration of princely states hanging. While most of the princely states later agreed to integrate themselves in the Indian Union in return for rich political and economic dividends a few states took more time for this.

Nizam-an agent of British imperialism-hoped to remain independent and expected support for this from the British masters and newly-born Pakistan.

The leadership of Ittehadul Musulmeen sought to mobilise the muslim population against the integration of Nizam state in the Indian Union and for Azad Hyderabad. A private armed force, known as Razakars, has also come into existence under the leadership of Khasim Razvi. This thoroughly muslim communalist and fascist force had all the patronage and blessings of Nizam as it served as its paramilitary force. This Razakar force proclaimed 'Defence of Deccan kingdom' as its objective. Basing itself in the citics, it carried on attacks on the villages, looted and committed many crimes against people. It declared independence of Hyderabad state



even before 1947 and pledged to wipe out the Communists and the forces led by them who were fighting against the feudal landlords and Nizam's state.

To begin with, the Congressmen in the Nizam state raised the slogans like, form "responsible govt" and integrate the Nizam state in the Indian union. They have taken up the programme of peaceful satyagraha demanding the integration of Nizam state in the Indian Union. At one point, they called upon the village officers to hand over records to the government as a move to paralyse it. They called upon people to stop drinking, paying taxes and to cut off palm and toddy trees as part of non-co-operation.

As the anti-feudal and anti-Nizam struggle intensified under the leadership of Communist party and as the Razakars attacks intensified in the villages, the Congress shifted their activity to the bordering districts of Nizam state. Some of them formed some armed squads and called the actions of these squads as "armed struggle" and "liberation struggle". They hoped, the Indian Union would intervene soon, liberate the state and they can reap the fruits of "liberation". Interestingly, these squads, all the time, evaded the confrontation with Nizam's police as well as Razakars. Now and then, they were conducting some raids on Nizam's custom's check-posts on the borders. These raids too were dramatic. No armed clash was taking place. The custom's officials were simply vacating the places for the time being when there were raids. All this was getting good publicity in AIR. Some times, these squads were indulging in looting in the villages in the name of collecting the taxes. The Congressmen were carrying a slander campaign against the communist party and party squads. They were propagating that the people are sandwiched between the squads and Razakars.

It was during this period, the 'negotiations had begun between the Indian Union and Nizam.

## **Negotiations**

As V.P.Menon, the then Secretary in the Ministry of Estate Affairs and a close-associate of Sardar Vallabhai Patel wrote in his book, "Integration of Indian States," there was no



talk about 'liberation' in one and half year long talks between the Indian Union and Nizam. The Indian Govt was only trying to bring the Nizam's state into some sort of loose tie up with the Indian Union. Nizam was also getting ready for this as he came to realise that the British masters too were not in favour of a totally independent state because of changed political situation. But he was under strong pressure from Ittehadul Musalmeen and Razakars not to enter into an agreement with the Indian Union.

Another powerful factor operating in this context was the advancing peoples revolutionary movement and armed struggle under the leadership of Communist Party. Both sides in the negotiations, i.e., the Indian Union as well as Nizam were very much worried by this "menace", "a common menace" and, at the same time, were using it to have a better deal for themselves. Message was: A delay in striking a deal spells a common peril. The situation will go totally in favour of Communists and it becomes more difficult to handle the situation.

It was in these conditions, a Standstill Agreement between the Governor General of India and Mir Usman Alikhan (Nizam) on November 29, 1947 was signed. In essence, this agreement allowed the Nizam state to retain its independent status while loosely tying it in the Indian Union.

K.M.Munshi was appointed as the "Agent General" of Delhi in the Nizam state. According to V.P.Menon, Nehru, PM, promosed Sir Walter Monectan, the Representative of Hyderabad Govt (April 7, 1948) that the Indian Govt will not attack Hyderabad

Nizam moved in the direction of asserting his independence. Peculiarly, he took this course when his rule was tottering in the face of increasing blows from the peoples revolutionary movement and armed struggle. This only had shown his desperate state.

### **Police Action**

It was in this situation, the Indian Govt resorted to Police Action (code named as "Operation Polo") on Sept 13, 1948. The whole drama of liberation or integration was complete within 4 days..



Nizam surrendered with no resistance worth the name. Razakars, who were the targets of people's growing ire because of their crimes, found a safe shelter in jails. It is a part of history now that the Union Govt took all the care not to cause any hurt to Nizam either to person, property or honour. On the other hand, the Nizam was awarded with the title, "Raj Pramukh" and granted 25 lakhs per annum. He was allowed to retain and enjoy the huge properties -open and hidden- that he amassed by looting the people. Excepting a few, all the Razakars were left free even from a punishment in a court of law, leave aside by the military of the Indian Govt.

It is amusing to listen, some to say that the 'greatness goes to the then leaders of our country who succeeded in convincing Nizam (for integration) without shedding any blood' (I.K.Gujral in the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of Hyderabad State's Liberation on Sept 17, 1998). Here, these apostles of peace and non-violence simply forget or close their eyes to the fact that the masses of people, democratic and national forces led by the Communists shed their blood, made countless sacrifices and experienced many brutalities in the struggle against Nizam's autocratic rule and the feudal system on which it based itself. It was this valiant struggle that has broken the backbone of Nizam, On one side, i.e., from the side of peoples revolutionary movement, his fate was sealed and his total rout was inescapable. On the other side, i.e. from the side of Indian Govt, though it was brandishing weapon in the form of Police Action, it was too benevolent and friendly that it was ready to allow it to live in peace with honour and riches and save it from being swept away by waves of peoples revolutionary movement. Here lies the secret of so-called bloodless liberation.

### **Police Action Shed Enough of Peoples Blood**

The Police Action was bloodiest and cruelest as far as the vast masses of people and Communists were concerned.

As V.P. Menon, the Secretary of the then Home Minister Sardar Patel himself admitted in his book, the "*Integration of Indian States*," one of the objective of Police Action was to wipe out the Communists.



Why the new ruling classes and the regime headed by Jawaharlal Nehru-a monument of democracy, progressivism and socialism-needed to wipe out the Communists in Telangana. Because, the Communists here did not limit to the proclamations, but led people into revolutionary action against feudalism and Nizam's autocratic rule and for thorough going democratic changes in economic, political, cultural life of the society. Because, this struggle, if withstands, advances and spreads to more areas, would tear off the progressive masks of new rulers, bring them into sharp confrontation with the vast masses of people and poses a serious danger to the system they took the reigns to safeguard.

While the drama of integration was over within 4 days, the Police Action which, in fact, has begun with the attacks on the strong bases of peoples revolutionary movement, went on for 3 more years. The feudal landlords who till then were taking shelters in cities and in the police camps re-gained courage. Accompanied and guided by the landlords, the military forces of Indian Govt attacked the people, Communists and guerrilla squads in the villages. Killing, torturing the people, looting and destroying their properties went on days together and on a massive scale. The landlords who were burning with anger because they lost a paradise participated in these brutalities with all vengeance to recapture it. Restoring the properties, lands and authority of the feudal landlords in the villages and wiping out all traces of resistance and opposition was the main mission of the military action.

In this operation, 4000 Communists, peasant fighters and ordinary people were killed. Many thousands were subjected to many brutalities. Several were tortured in police camps and thrown into Jails. The new life, freedom, peace and stability won by the people through struggle were rudely disturbed and destroyed.

The people have seen through their bitter and bloody experience that the Police Action was essentially an act of liberating the feudal system and autocratic rule from the people and from the forces who were determined to pull them down and establish a new democratic society.



## Slander of Collusion between the Communists and Razakars

L.K.Advani, self styled Commander-in-chief of Hindu communal fascist forces, has picked up a slanderous allegation thrown in the dust bin as back as 50 years.

In 1947, when the talk of Azad Hyderabad was running high in the camp of Nizam and the Indian Union's intervention was being expected, some Communist Leaders of Hyderabad came out with a statement echoing with the idea of independent Hyderabad state. This totally irresponsible, unauthorised and damaging statement was given wide publicity in the All India Radio in an attempt to use it to slander against the Communists. But this was immediately, openly and categorically refuted and disowned by the State as well as the Central Committees of the Communist Party. This was known to all people and political forces of that period. However, this statement was deliberately played down by the press and AIR.

The Communists stood for a united, democratic state of Telugu-speaking people. The heroic struggle led by them against feudalism and Nizam's autocratic state was a struggle to clear the way for an all round development of overwhelming masses of people. Ever since the Razakars came on the scene, the Communists and the people led by them were in confrontation, with them as the Razakars were not only a Communal force, but also a fascist, para-military force in defence of feudal-landlords and Nizam state.

When the Congressmen started 'armed Struggle', the Communist Party avoided the clash with Congress and concentrated its struggle against Nizam's police, Razakars and oppressive landlords. Even after Police Action, the Communist Party continued to direct the main fire of its struggle against Nizam's Police, Razakars and oppressive landlords. This was really a festival of revolutionary mass action. Thousands of people led by the Party and guerrilla squads attacked the camps of Nizam's police and Razakars. The people captured arms from camps and police stations. The pent up anger against the feudal oppression has exploded in the form of raising down the fortresses-monuments of oppression- of



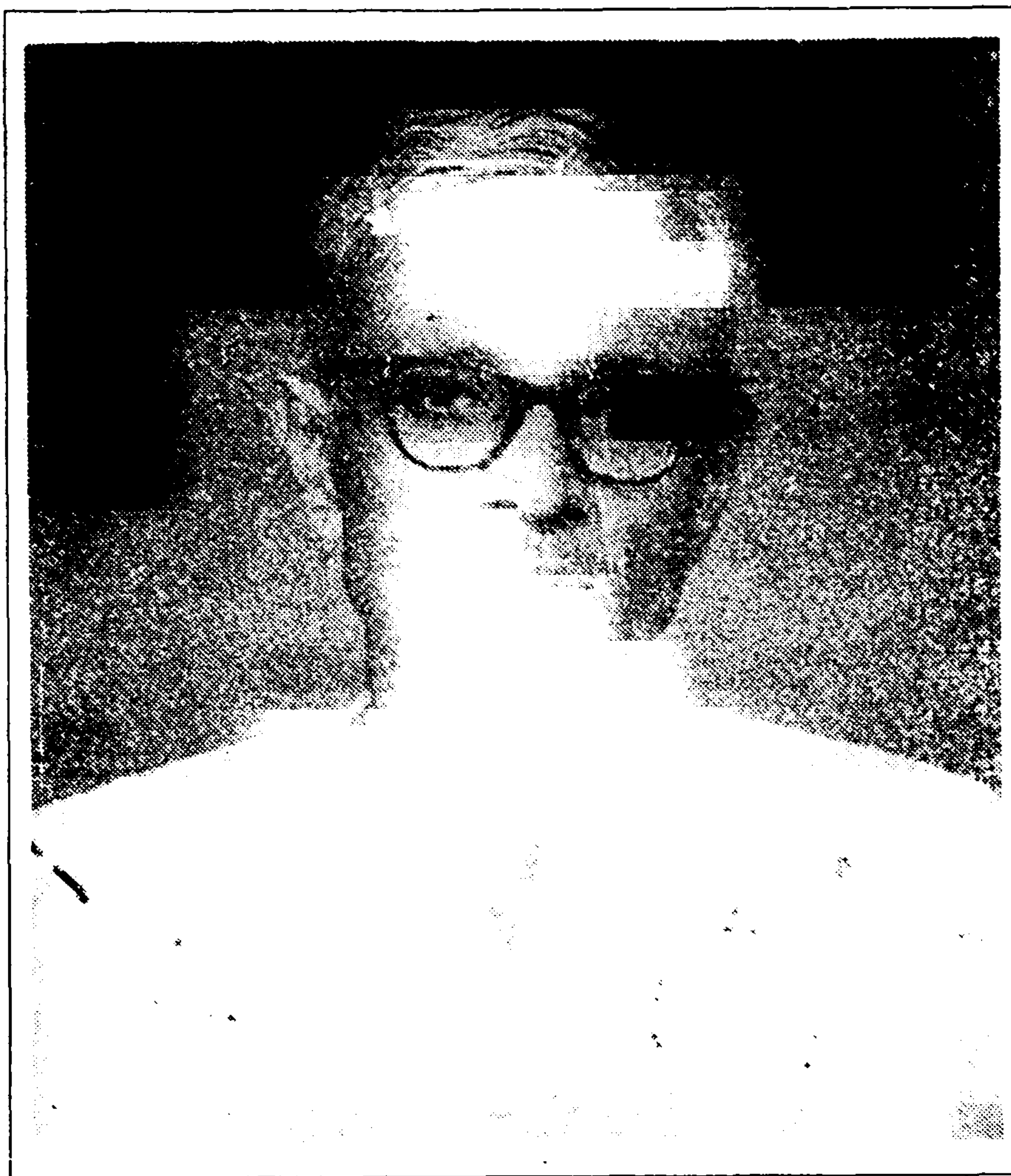
feudal landlords to ground in many villages. The people carried on this operation for days together. They laid, the roads, erected martyrs columns and turned the lands where the fortresses earlier stood into farming lands. The people seized and distributed several thousands of bags of grain from the granaries of landlords. They captured several Razakars, publicly tried and punished them. But the people also confronted a bitter truth. The military of Indian Govt swiftly moved to rescue the Nizam's police, Razakars and the feudal landlords from the masses. They freely rained the bullets on the people and Communists. The role they played was clear. Here, they had stepped into the shoes of Nizam's police and Razakars as defenders of landlordism and autocratic rule and committed many crimes against the people.

Telangana People's Armed struggle has been withdrawn 47 years back. Yet, it lives in the hearts of people all over India. It lives in the form of experiences and lessons. It reappeared in the form of peasant revolutionary movement in Naxalburi Srikakulam, Debra-Gopiballabpur, Mushahiri, Lakhimpur-Kheri, Khammam, Warangal, East-Godavari and other places after 15 years of its withdrawal in 1951. The path shown by the heroic people of Telangana continues to illuminate the path of exploited and oppressed masses of Indian people even today. Advanis and the like may spit venom and continue their slander campaign against the Communists. Through this, they are only trying to hide their fear of peoples revolution. Yet, they cannot escape the final verdict of history. They cannot isolate the Communist revolutionaries from people and prevent them from leading a New Democratic Revolution through to the end.





# REVOLUTIONARY HOMAGE TO COM KOLLA VENKAIAH



Com. Kolla Venkaiah (KV) breathed his last on Sept 17, 1998 in Chilakaluripet (A.P) in the house of Raj Mohan, his son. He was born in 1910 and was at an advanced age of 89 years at the time of his demise. In the last moment, he was not in a position to speak. He greeted the comrades with eyes

and expressed his feelings and urge for unity only with some gestures.

Com KV belongs to early generation. He learnt the ABC of politics in the National Movement. He began his political life at an early age, i.e., when he was in middle school. He was participating in the Satyagraha Movement ever since he attended a volunteer Camp organised by the Congress in East Godavari dist of A.P. He was a delegate to the Bombay Congress held in 1934. But, he did not like the Congress politics. The Communist ideology attracted him. By 1936, he became a member of Communist Party. He was put behind bars many a time. Studying the problems of toiling masses, particularly of peasants, reacting to them and making a possible effort for their resolution has been one of his quality. He performed his responsibilities in the party as the Member of APCC in the united CPI and the AP Sectt Member of the CPI (M). During



1946-51, he made good efforts to develop the struggle in Guntur district (A.P) that added strength to the ongoing Great Telangana Peasant Armed Struggle. He was elected as MLA (1952), MLC (1958) and MP (1962).

In Guntur district (A.P), he organised a peasant agitation on the issue of non-supply of coal needed by the tobacco baron peasants. He served the poor and middle peasants as a member of District Marketing Society. He led the poor and landless peasants in the movement to seize the Romperu and banzar lands and to oppose the exorbitant taxes.

Com KV faced detention in 1962 and 1965. He was active in the ideological and political discussions inside and outside the Jail during 1962-65. He opposed the revisionist (CPI) and neo revisionist (CPIM) paths. As the DCS as well as the Sectt Member of APPC he played his role in this struggle. The course of this discussion and struggle, brought Com.TN, DV, CP and KV closer and they arrived at common views on many questions. They together led the ideological and political struggle and came to the fore as the leaders of CR forces in A.P.

Com KV was a member of APCCCR that was formed under the Convenorship of Com.TN in 1968. He was party to many political, movement and organisational steps taken by this Committee. He was most intimate to the students and youth in Guntur district. He maintained friendly relations with them with an urge to develop the leadership from the new generation. The political and organisational spirit created by him among the youth and new generation of that period still continues. The cadres of that period are playing a crucial role even today in various Organisations. The period 1968-69, has seen various developments. Divergencies and problems manifested in the discussions and relations between the AICCCR and APCCCR before and even after the APCCCR's joining the AICCCR. The APCCCR was disaffiliated by the AICCCR. In the course of these developments, Com KV separated himself from the above mentioned 3 comrades. He decided, to join the CPI (ML) led by Com. CM.



Afterwards, Com Kolla (KV) faced arrest. He was one of the accused in the Parvathipuram Conspiracy case. During this period, Com KV began to re-examine Com CM's left line and its practice in the light of experiences. This was the context, six Communist Revolutionary leaders jointly released an open letter welcoming the suggestions of CPC in relation to the Indian Revolution. These comrades were: Com Kanu Sanyal, Souren Bose, Tejeshwar Rao, Nagabhusan Patnayak, Bhuvan Mohan Patnaik and Kolla Venkaiah. Since then, he was proposing about the need to review the experiences, re-organise and re-unite the CR forces. He was doing his efforts in this direction.

In a statement given by him along with his comrades in the context of Parvathipuram Conspiracy case, Com KV analysed the philosophical, economic and political foundations of caste system in India. While he was in Jail, he organised the struggles against the atrocities of jail authorities and worst conditions of jail. In Rajahmundry jail, he was subjected to brutalities by the jail authorities. While in jail, he gathered information from various Comrades like Com D.Govind Rao regarding the Martyrs of Srikakulam district and published the same in the form of a book in the name of "Peasant Organiser". This book has become controversial. However, Com KV has corrected the mistakes in the second print of the book.

Later, he formed a Marxist -Leninist Centre and continued his work. He sought to build up struggles on peoples issues in Guntur and Prakasham districts (A.P), in the main. He organised an agitation against the atrocities of upper caste landlord forces on the dalit masses of Karamchedu (A.P.) He organised the peasants under Nallamada on their problems. Not only he challenged the AP Land Reforms Act in the Supreme Court and exposed its loopholes and anti-people character, but also made efforts to rally the peasants agriculture labour and rural poor organisations in A.P. into an united action on this issue. Whether it was the problems of Guntur Channel peasants or the difficulties encountered by the ex-servicemen in the course of rehabilitation, he tried to unite all with no differentiation for the resolution of their problems. He took part in the united actions.



Com K.Venkateshwar Rao of Marxist-Leninist Centre took part in an All India Seminar organised by our Organisation in May 1997 (Vijayawada) on the eve of 25th Anniversary of Naxalbari Peasant Revolutionary Movement. Again, in November 1997, Com KV, with a failing health, has taken part in the All India Seminar organised by us on the eve of 80th Anniversary of October Revolution and the 50th Anniversary of Telangana and Tebhaga Peasant Revolutionary Movements in Hyderabad.

Com Kolla maintained close relations with COI (ML) and its leader Com Kanu Sanyal. The urge for unity has grown strong in him in the last days of his life. He yearned for positive results. He suggested to our Organisation to make serious efforts.

Com Kolla was a peasant leader. Not only he was one of the important comrade who contributed to the development of people's movement in Guntur district but also was one of the state leaders of CR Movement in A.P. He maintained close relations with his colleagues in the movement till the last moment of his life. He was sober in nature, but hard in dealing. Com KV has gone through many twists and turns politically. Towards the end of his life, he longed

for a united action among all those who held the Communist Flag and for the unification of Communist Revolutionaries. He breathed his last with a message to build a revolutionary movement against imperialism and feudalism and victoriously complete the New Democratic Revolution. Com Kolla's ideals of life were high. That he could not remain alive for some more time is a serious loss for the revolutionary movement.

The COC, CPI (ML)-Janashakti pays its Revolutionary Homage to the departed Comrade our deep condolences to Dr.Raj Mohan and other deceased family members of Com.KV.

**10.11.98**

**CENTRAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE**

**CPI (ML)-JANASHAKTI**





**Declaration of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Germany (MLPD)**

# **HANDS OFF THE CONGO!**

## **THE REBELLION IN THE CONGO**

### **AGAINST KABILA'S MILITARY**

**dictatorship is justified!**

Hardly more than one year after the overthrow of the dictator Mobutu, a rebel army is once again fighting against the government in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. It has the support of broad parts of the people's masses and, until last weekend, was advancing to the capital city of Kinshasa. In the meantime, troops from Angola and Zimbabwe have marched in and are fighting against the rebels on the side of the military forces of the reactionary Kabila government. Uganda and Ruanda, on the other hand, declared their support of the rebels. Troops from the USA, Belgium and France are being concentrated in Brazzaville and vicinity and, under a pretext, can be brought into immediate action for imperialist intervention.

This situation demands the solidarity of the workers and other working people of all countries for the liberation struggle of the people of the Congo once again! The rebellion of the people of the Congo is justified. They do not want to be robbed of the fruits of their self-sacrificing struggle to overthrow the Mobutu dictatorship. The MLPD declares its solidarity with the justified rebellion and combines it with the strengthening of the new opposition in Germany: internationalism is the order of the day!

### **The struggle between two directions**

In May 1997, after only 7 months of fighting, the people of the Congo overthrew the fascist Mobutu regime that had been ruling for 30 years. This victory was possible because the masses united in spite of differing nationalities and tribal boundaries. It was not only a defeat for Mobutu, but for all western imperialists, as well as the Chinese imperialists, Cuba and Libya, who supported Mobutu. This struggle encouraged



the democratic mass movements in other countries of Africa, as well as the Indonesian people in their struggle against the Suharto dictatorship.

This victory, the first for a long time in a justified people's war, showed the entire world how unstable imperialist rule is and that it has no perspective at all. Why then is a new rebellion against the Kabila government taking place?

The anti fascist-democratic revolution against Mobutu did not yet signify a fundamental change in the political and economic relations of power. A struggle between two directions developed.

Either rigorously conducting the anti fascist-democratic revolution and transforming it into a new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective or setting up a reactionary military government in connection with a renewed subordination to the imperialist powers.

The revolutionary direction of national and social liberation was represented mainly by the CPL (Congress of the Progressive forces for Liberation), whose representative Roger Shambuyi Kalala was also executive secretary within the AFDL and responsible for mass mobilization and mass education.

For many years, the MLPD organised solidarity with the struggle against the Mobutu regime in close cooperation with the CPL. In order to support the revolutionary way of liberation, the MLPD conducted in the fall of 1997 a successful and rousing donation campaign among the masses in Germany in support of the CPL's newspaper "*Nyota ya Afrika*" (Star of Africa). Almost 100,000 German marks were collected.

In the meantime, the struggle between the two opposing directions in the Congo intensified. Whereas the CPL rigorously went the direction of mobilizing, educating and organising the people and fighting against corruption and tribal mentality, Kabila wanted to stifle the revolutionary development from above and subordinate the state apparatus to the Katanga bourgeoisie, from which he himself comes.

The ban on parties which Kabila at first held in reserve was now also openly applied against the progressive forces, among them the CPL. So for example, the CPL obtained no



possibilities to print its newspaper. Roger Shambuyi Kalala was arrested twice, each time in connection with mass actions of the people which he was leading. In June 1998, Kabila removed all progressive forces from the AFDL leadership and the government and turned these positions over to members of the Katanga bourgeoisie and former Mobutu functionaries.

The contradiction between the two directions came to a head when, at the beginning of August, Kabila began with the racist persecution of the Tutsi ethnic group and all progressive forces and tried to win the army over to his side.

But he had made a mistake! The transformation of an originally anti-fascist government into a reactionary military dictatorship got a direct response in form of a justified rebellion. It became an armed mass struggle. That is an excellent situation because it shows that the masses are searching for a genuine perspective and that they will not settle for reactionary dictatorships. Every "counteroffensive" that Kabila announced up till now was condemned to failure. Only the massive military intervention by Angola and Zimbabwe with tanks and bombers changed the relations of power in favor of Kabila. But in the long run, this will not do Kabila much good because he has lost the large part of his mass basis among his own people. A regime cannot endure on the basis of military force alone.

The forces of armed rebellion encompass a wide scope of directions and, despite all differences, are united by democratic goals. They have united in the Congolese Association for Democracy (RCD) and have democratic structures and a collective leadership. The MLPD supports this united movement to overthrow the Kabila government and for democratic rights and freedoms. Anti-imperialist forces, especially Roger Shambuyi Kalala, have leading positions in it and embody the revolutionary direction of liberation.

**Down with Kabila's military dictatorship!**

**The rebellion of the RCD is justified!**

**Imperialists-hands off the Congo!**

The imperialists are on the alert. The African continent is like a volcano, ready to erupt. The imperialist crisis management, which aims at racist division and pacification of the African



peoples, does not work any more. But after various anti-fascist and anti-racist uprisings in the 1990's, for example in Ethiopia, Eritrea or South Africa, we also see that this stage of the revolution does not suffice and can be destroyed if it is not transformed into a new democratic revolution and connected to the international struggle for liberation. A victory for the rebels in the Congo could introduce a new phase in this direction. That makes the situation so dangerous for the imperialists.

At the same time, Chinese social imperialism has had a growing influence upon the Kabila government. Along with Libya and Cuba, China is taking on the same shameful role that it has 15 months earlier in defending the fascist Mobutu regime, even after the western imperialists had already given him up. That is the background for the intervention of Angola and Zimbabwe. This "Chinese direction" of the suppression of the liberation struggle misuses the word "Socialism" and reminds of the role of the former social imperialist Soviet Union. It once supported numerous African military dictatorships under the guise of "anti-imperialism" and ruthlessly subordinated liberation movements to its own interests.

The bourgeois media in Germany are spreading skepticism and prejudice. The rebellion supposedly merely demonstrates that Africans take every opportunity for massacring each other because they are not capable of taking their affairs into their own hands. This is intended to serve as an excuse for the imperialists preparing a military intervention. The terror attack of the USA on August 20, 1998 on a factory for medical drugs in Sudan is a part of this plan. US president Clinton makes a claim on the right to violate the sovereignty of any country at any time and to attack with missiles and tactical atomic weapons.

This is encountered by strong and justified protests in the entire world, while this aggressive and inhumane course is supported by the parties in Bonn, CDU, FDP and SPD. In February 1998, foreign minister Kinkel already pointed out the special interests of German imperialism in Africa, "We have long range interests, economic ones, too. Not to forget the



question of security. If you get into a helicopter and look at the world from above, you can observe the most conflicts in Africa" (from an interview with the German newspaper SZ)

**The MLPD condemns every imperialist intervention, whether by the western imperialists or by the Chinese social imperialists, Cuba or Libya or other followers of theirs in Africa.**

Africa's masses are taking their fates into their own hands. They are neither helpless nor do they need self-acclaimed "protectors"! What they need is their own leadership. The MLPD supports the Marxist-Leninists in the Congo, whose most important task is the building up of a Marxist-Leninist party of the masses in connection with the liberation struggle of the people.

The rebellion in the Congo is not an isolated national occurrence. In numerous countries there is an upswing of liberation struggles and the development to the working class offensive. All of these are dealing with the same enemy, which opposes social progress the international monopolies and their imperialist governments.

The MLPD is organising the solidarity with the rebellion in the Congo. In the political offensive in connection with the national elections, the MLPD is going to make the solidarity with the justified rebellion against the military dictatorship of Kabila to an important focus of its election campaign on the streets within the next weeks.

**Solidarity with the revolutionary road to liberation!**

Secretariat of the Central Committee of the MLPD

August 26, 1998 On its behalf.

*Stefan Engel*

*Party Chairman*

*Peter Borgwardt*

*Secretary for Internationalism*





Interview: Recent Elections in Germany

## KOHL HAD TO RESIGN A SUCCESS OF THE NEW OPPOSITION

*Interview with three members of the political leadership of the Central Committee of the MLPD, Stefan Engel, Monika Gartner and Peter Borgwardt, about the results of the national elections 1998*

*October 1, 1998*

**Red Flag:** The national elections are over. Is the MLPD satisfied with the results of its election campaign?

**Stefan Engel:** The MLPD has set itself three major goals in this federal election campaign?

**1. The Kohl government must resign!** This goal has been achieved completely. The Kohl government has suffered a crushing defeat. The monopolies did not succeed in keeping their favorite government in power, despite all their bustling propaganda activities. In those places on which we focussed our above average.

**2. Strengthening of the new opposition.** This second goal has been achieved as well. The mere fact that the main slogan of the new opposition "The Kohl government must resign" has become the central slogan of the central argument for voting off the parties in power is an outstandingly good sign. The bourgeois parties did neither succeed in dispelling the idea of a new opposition. Struggles and demonstrations took place everywhere during the election campaign. I just remind you of the big demonstration in Dusseldorf with 12000 participants against the cuts in the education sector by the SPD/Green government of the federal state of North Rhine Westphalia or of the big anti-fascist demonstration in Rostock. The latter made it clear just one week before the holding of the national elections that the NPD and DVU are no protest parties, but neofacist shock troops. The frank discussion raised the anti-facist consciousness of the masses, especially of young people, and inflicted a bitter defeat on the neo-facist parties in the



federal state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. The new opposition has undeniably scored this victory.

3. It was the intention of the MLPD **to overcome** at least in selective places **the relative isolation** and to strengthen the MLPD. Never before has the MLPD succeeded to such an extent in exerting influence on the shaping of political views as in this election. It was clear from the start that the election results can only be a relative measure of our influence. Nevertheless, it became evident that we gained a remarkable success with the first votes in some places. In 11 constituencies we could not maintain the number of first votes we received last time. In 13 constituencies the number of votes we got rose between 7 and 100 percent as against 1994, in 17 constituencies the number was up by more than 100 percent.

We know very well that today every vote for the MLPD presupposes a high level of class consciousness, because from the parliamentary point of view the votes for the MLPD have no immediate parliamentary effect. They can only bring about a political success regarding the rise in esteem of the party. This is the case e.g. in those places where we could score between 1 and 4.8 per-cent in 24 wards as in Gelsenkirchen. Or in the constituencies of Eisenhüttenstadt, Eisenach, Sonneberg, where smaller party groups were able to gain a relatively big number of votes. Our influence was reflected in the votes for other parties more than in those for us: It is therefore not by chance that particularly in these cities the CDU suffered heavy losses, but, on the other hand, the PDS could achieve extraordinary good results with the second votes. This relation shows that people agree with our arguments, but they think that can only implement the policy to which they adhere by voting for a parliamentary force which can put it into practice.

**Red Flag:** It is the first time in the history of the FRG that a government was voted out of office. How has this been possible?

**Stefan Engel:** In my view, it is mainly the awakening of class consciousness on a broad front which has evolved in conjunction with the struggles against the cuts in sick pay in 1996. It was not possible to fob off the broad masses with the delusion about a new economic upswing or a turn-around on the labor market. People today did not buy this. At the same time, the



SPD did hardly succeed in winning a convinced following because their arguments do not differ in essence from those of the Kohl-government. **The main motive for the electoral success of the SPD was: "Kohl must be ousted!"** However, this is not a sustainable basis for a backing of the SPD/Alliance 90-Green-government by the broad masses. On this basis it was possible that our **persuasion work in the election campaign** could have effect. Never before did we experience that people listened so intently, discussed so seriously our arguments as in the elections. This is an important **starting-point for the further political development** from which we have to draw adequate conclusions.

**Red Flag:** How will Germany be governed after the elections and which changes will there be now?

**Peter Borgwardt:** The bourgeois media are misleadingly writing about a "change of power". But **the power of the monopolies does still exist**, only with the difference that now an SPD/Alliance 90-Green-government is taking charge.

The Greens want to enter the government as junior partners at any cost. From the point of view of the monopolies they have passed the test in the federal state of NRW. There, they smoothly fitted in with the running of the government.

At the core of the program of a Schroder/Fischer government is an anti-labor policy of the monopolies, its main method is the negatively oriented policy of class collaboration which has already been pursued until now by the rightist leadership of the SPD and the trade unions. The intended "alliance for work" is in reality an **alliance for cheapening the cost of labor**, that means, for an intensified exploitation in the enterprises, for further reductions in real wages, for exempting the monopolies from social contributions and for a further rise in their profits. In the last years alone this has resulted in the shedding of 2.5 million jobs in the industry alone. As before this is true for the future: **new jobs can only be created by struggle, at the expense of the profits.**

The old opposition is taking over the government. The PDS has announced a constructive opposition. It plays the part of being a left adjunct to the social-democratic-Green government. We cannot expect a real opposition. CDU/CSU are



playing the role of instigators of the implementation of the monopoly's program of crisis management.

This is the **time of the new opposition** as we have already predicted during the election campaign. This has never been as important as today! The working people will make their experience with the SPD in government and sooner rather than later will they be disillusioned. A resolute struggle against mass unemployment, against the dismantling of social services and depriving people of their political rights can only be waged by the new opposition with the militant working-class movement as its core.

**Red Flag:** It seemed that never before has there been such a feverish excitement in the run-up to the elections. What were the reasons for this?

**Peter Borgwardt:** The manipulation of the public opinion, especially by means of the mass media, is an integral part of bourgeois parliamentarism. What was done in the respect puts everything in the shade that we have seen up to now. People have been increasingly and artificially kept in suspense during the last two weeks by means of opinion polls predicting a "tight race" between Kohl and Schroder. Obviously this situation never existed as has been proven by the clear election results. The lie of a "tight race" mainly aimed at mobilizing undecided voters. Such polls are a deliberately applied method in the system of the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking in society and not at all objective, scientific documentations.

This was mainly directed against small parties, in particular against the MLPD. In the Ruhr district, a special campaign was launched against the "lost votes" for "extremist parties" during the last week.

A vile method of the media-based election campaign was the propagation of the lie of the neofascists as being "protest parties". The PDS received an unprecedented coverage in the media. without doing anything it was blown up as a "left" and "socialist alternative". The censorship practiced by the media was mainly directed against the MLPD. The MLPD could be watched for about ten minutes inclusive all elections spots on nationwide TV-programs during the entire election campaign- the parties represented in the federal parliament for about 900



hours! In the press the censorship exercised by the media was complete - particularly in those areas where we conducted our best election campaigns. This censorship was most completely practiced in Geisenkirchen where the press did not report anything about the election campaign of the MLPD even though it was the most active and conspicuous campaign of all the parties. Even the biggest election campaign meeting of the MLPD in the Hans-Sachs-House, attended by 1200 people was totally ignored.

It is no exaggeration, if we speak of a real dictatorship of the media in the interest of the monopolies and their parties.

More and more people who have learned of the MLPD in connection with its offensive street election campaign are greatly annoyed about such a practice and are no longer prepared to tolerate it. This only shows that the struggle against the manipulation by the media is more and more becoming a part of the new opposition. The legal action taken by the MLPD against three newspapers in Gelsenkirchen, the "WAZ" "BuerscheZeitung" and "Ruhr-Nachrichten" for manipulation, censorship and obstruction of the election campaign aims at strengthening this direction.

**Red Flag:** If there is such a manipulation, does it make sense to participate in such elections?

**Monika Gartner:** Of course, our efficiency was limited considerably by such measures. We had, however, no alternative but to conduct an election campaign under these conditions. The better our election campaign was conducted the more insolent and persistent the censorship became! Undoubtedly we could thus reach only a small minority of the voters in the FRG. But the MLPD has taken up the **challenge of the censorship:** the offensive street election campaign has proven that a real and inspiring **impact on the masses can be achieved in complete self-reliance and base on the masses.** We can say without exaggeration that we conducted the most political, most imaginative and most militant election campaign of all parties.

The voter action groups with about 3500 members altogether proved to be a very suitable form of the **interaction between the self-organizations of the masses and the party.** The **performance** of the comrades and workers in an intensive



common process of learning was **magnificent**: 143 stalls and rallies at market places and in commercial centers: 105 activities in front of factories and rallies; 104 processions in streets with speeches, music, discussions through residential areas; about 50,000 personal talks; 102 meetings attended by 12,700 visitors; 15,709 campaign posters which were put up and had often to be replaced on grounds of the destructive rage of the neo-fascists; 45 letters of the candidates with a circulation of 170,000 copies' 150,000 distributed election programs; 19 election newspapers, 9 among them were newly edited - and a completely independently funded election campaign which in addition contributed to a permanent financial strengthening of the party!

The bourgeois parties conduct election campaigns employing large amounts of materials for the manipulation of public opinion. **The proletarian parliamentarism proved to be an education for self-liberation.**

The success in this election campaign was tied directly to the prerequisite of attacking the petty bourgeois parliamentary mode of thinking and going over to the offensive with the proletarian mode of thinking. The system of the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking in society makes people actually get entangled in and fettered by habits, patterns of thinking and behavior as well as reservations. Many people e.g. believe that they know nothing about politics. They have often no confidence in themselves to play an active part, and they are accustomed to voting for some representatives acting on their behalf. Many people think that a vote for the MLPD, because we would not take the five per cent hurdle and could not cause anything to happen immediately. In our offensive street election campaign we succeeded in breaking up **these fetters of the petty-bourgeois mode of thinking** on a general background of the awakening of class consciousness on a broad front. This brings about in connection with an organized activity and the Marxist-Leninist education work a receptiveness and ability to learn, a profound consolidation of the proletarian mode of thinking. One can imagine this process as being similar to the development of a butterfly in a cocoon. Only after breaking up the constriction of the shell the butterfly is able to develop freely and fly!



**Red Flag:** *In what respect has the MLPD and in interrelation with it the new opposition changed itself in this political offensive?*

**Monika Gartner:** The success in the political offensive is inseparably to the **thoroughness of self-transformation** in the systematic work among rank-and-file as well as in the work of the leadership of the MLPD. Our program of self-transformation consisted of the eight trump cards which we played at the beginning of the election campaign and all of which could score points! The camps of election campaign activists in East Germany were a new and successful method of the focused party building; in the street processions masses of new children and youth league REBELL has been considerably strengthened. The combining of the election campaign with political tasks in struggle was particularly impressive and appealing, e.g. the anti-fascist struggle in Rostock, the struggle for regular jobs for young people completing training in Solingen or the preparation of the consultation of automobile workers. However, this work can only be developed if people transform themselves. Karl Marx once said: *"In revolutionary activities the self-transformation coincides with the changing of conditions."* We can say without exaggeration that not a single participant in this election campaign is the same as at the beginning! the self-transformation mainly touched on three central issues:

**First on the relation with the broad masses** of the people. Everybody who doubted that workers, women and young people can do something or who wanted not to be recognized as Marxist-Leninist could not effectively play a part in this political offensive. The many and small steps like acting self-confidently, attacking bourgeois stand points or differing from their speeches. -all this required a continuous development of one's own persuasiveness and of a firm confidence in the masses.

**Second,** the self-transformation was related to the **understanding of the wide range of opportunities and responsibilities** resulting from the political and economic development. The awakening of the class consciousness was



the general prevailing condition for the political offensive in connection with the national elections. A deep clarity and persuasiveness could only be created if people understood, for instance, that below the surface of the propaganda of an economic upswing actually a new world economic crisis is being prepared.

**Third**, the self-transformation was mainly related to not only developing and spreading conclusive and concrete arguments, but also to starting immediately an organized cooperation. Only in the long-term organized cooperation between the broad masses and the Marxist-Leninists the **Organized force** can develop which in future class conflicts will be able to oppose the monopolies and the state. In brief, a self-transformation on the basis of the proletarian **mode of thinking** was required in this political offensive in which the struggle for the mode of thinking of the masses was the permanent guideline for the political work. The greatest success was achieved where this task had been accomplished at best.

**Red Flag:** *What is development of the new opposition now?*

**Monika Gartner:** The new government, every king of coalition as a new caretaker of the monopolies is already faced with scepticism. The time of an euphoric mood, like e.g. the assumption of power by Willy Brandt, belongs since long to the past. Now it is essential to consolidate and develop the process which has been started with the political offensive in connection with the national elections. The voter action groups will evaluate their work and will dissolve afterwards. Everybody who has begun political work needs a **personal perspective of further organized activity in the new opposition**. This ranges from the positive work in trade unions, the militant women's movement, the close relation with the MLPD as regular donor to the membership in the MLPD and REBELL.

The new opposition cannot be built in the election campaign, but in the struggles of the workers in the transition to the working-class offensive, in the militant women's movement as a link between the working-class movement and the



broad masses, in the rebellion of the youth, in the international liberation struggle. It is of particular importance to consolidate the **long-term organized cooperation between the party and the self-organizations of the masses**. Therefore one climax of the political offensive is not the election day, but the consultation of automobile workers with international participation which will take place next weekend. Other milestones will be the consultation on women's issues on November 21/22, 1998, the national delegates' congress of the youth league REBELL in November, the International Women's Day on March 8, 1999 and especially the 9th International Whitsun Youth Meeting in 1999 in Gelsenkirchen.

**Red Flag:** *The central committee has declared the overall strengthening of the MLPD to be the central task of advance the class struggle. How is this to be interpreted?*

**Peter Borgwardt:** After a slow beginning the winning of new members is now gaining momentum. In the voter action groups in particular there are a number of colleagues who have gathered experiences with the MLPD in the last months. Some of them have already decided to join the party; others are still in the stage of reaching a decision. This must be actively advanced and accompanied by the groups.

We believe that we can achieve our goal of winning 25 per cent of new members by the end of the year. Regarding the membership of REBELL and especially the children's organization RED FOXES this goal can surely be surpassed. This requires not only a fast admission, but the party and the youth league have to gear themselves in good time to a fast increase in membership so as to ensure that the education and organization work does not lag behind. With concluding the work of the voter action groups it is realistic to win a major part of the donors who have become active there as regular donors in the future. this requires a **systematic work of persuasion and of taking care of them**.

In connection with the evaluation of the political offensive the party groups and leadership committees are



preparing for the group meetings as well as for the county delegates' conferences; and the youth league REBELL is also preparing for its 4th national delegates' congress. This also marks the transition to the preparation of the **6th party congress of the MLPD in 1999**. The CC has taken up this task already in summer. Meanwhile the comrades are working on the elaboration of the draft report to the congress; the revision of the party program is under way and the work with the theoretical organ *Revolutionary WAY* number 17 "The class struggle and the tasks and goals in the struggle for the liberation of women" is going on persistently.

We are still one year and a quarter away from the turn of the millennium. The MLPD seeks to undertake a demanding set of tasks by then. The successfully conducted political offensive in connection with the national elections has created an excellent basis for this task.

**Red Flag:** *Thank you very much for this talk.*



## **REVOLUTIONARY HOMAGE TO COM NAGBHUSHAN PATNAIK**

The news of Comrade Naga bhusan Patnaik's demise is shocking. He was a Victorian Comrade of old generation who has played an important role in the Communist and revolutionary movement and has been active till the last moment of his life. His death is untimely and a serious loss to the Communist Revolutionary Movement and the struggle of toiling masses of Indian people.

Our COC pays its revolutionary homage to the departed Comrade and expresses its deep condolence to the deceased family members of Com. NB.

Oct 11, 1998

**CENTRAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE  
CPI (ML)-JANASHAKTI**



## CONGO:

# INTERVIEW WITH SHAMBUYI KALALA

We are publishing here an interview made by the left-wing journal "Rote Fahne" with Shambuyi Kalala, at present in Goma, Congo. He is member of the leading committee of the new rebellion RCD (Resselement Congolais pour la Democratie). He is the responsible person for "Mobilisation", i.e. for the political organisation and information of the masses. This interview took place on 21 August, before the massive military intervention of Zimbabwe and Angola. **-Editor.**

**Rote Fahne:** What are the reasons for and the aims of the rebellion?

**Shambuyi Kalala:** The aim of the rebellion is mainly the rectification of the deviations in the leadership of the movement of rebellion. These deviations could not no longer be rectified by peaceful means, because Kabila opposed this rectification and tried to prevent it by force. Kabila has more and more imitated fascism and allied himself with reactionaries and even fascists, mobutists and elements like the UFERI (fascist forces from Katanga region-) while on the other hand he has persecuted revolutionary and democratic forces. Within the movement of the AFDL and the state leadership he organized nepotism, appointed members of his family and friends to leading positions, even if they have been absolutely incompetent. Arbitrary acts and corruption have become common practice once again. This led to a complete disorganisation and plunged the country into a catastrophe. In order to master the situation he intensified the repression. People were arbitrarily put under arrest. This brought about a regression to the starting point of the movement of rebellion. The situation was not yet the same as under Mobutu. There was an opposition also within the AFDL and the leadership, which was however more and more suppressed by Kabila. I myself was suspended from my functions for three times and arrested for two times. But Kabila created a situation of uncertainty with respect to his foreign relations as well.



Friendly countries have seen themselves threatened by his alliance with the fascists. He is even collaborating with the fascists from Ruanda. The aim of the rebellion is to rectify this situation and to take the road of democracy which will enable the progressive and revolutionary forces of the people to express themselves as well. The rebellion wants national unity. The program of the movement of rebellion must be restored. Production must get under way for the benefit of the people and has to get rid of nepotism and vested interests.

**Rote Fahne:** What part do the masses play in the rebellion?

**Shambuyi Kalala:** At first the rebellion was initiated by people who were in the leadership and the army. The masses are grasping more and more what is going on. They agree completely with the demands of the rebellion. But they first must gain the confidence that the rebellion is in the interest of the people. The mobilization of the people is under way. The rebellion is trying to enlist the support of people, to collect donations and at the same time to discuss with the masses and to convince them.

**Rote Fahne:** What kind of structure does the front have?

**Shambuyi Kalala:** It is movement which is composed of various forces. These are mainly progressive, democratic forces having different views. But right-wing forces are joining it as well. But the fact that I have been entrusted with the political organisation in order that the people is represented characterises the balance of power. It is decisive that the people at grass roots level are participating actively, exert control and determine the direction. Many more campaigns are necessary. This has just started. The rebellion does exist only since one week. The masses must still grasp its objectives. At the beginning it was possible to take the road of the national revolution together with Kabila. But then he started his terror. Now all issues are discussed and settled democratically.

**Rote Fahne:** Do you reckon with a long-lasting conflict or is there a development that it will soon be resolved?



**Shambuyi Kalala:** There is no real war. The development is progressing at a very fast rate. And the intervention of neighboring states will hardly change this. It is in the first place important that the people comprehend its situation. In Kinshasa the situation is not quite simple. There we have comrades, but they must act cautiously. Kabila has called on people to kill everybody who is against him. We cannot tell how long he will be able to hold out. But I think it will not be for a long time.

**Rote Fahne:** What part does the intervention of other states play?

**Shambuyi Kalala:** To my opinion the intervention from outside will not change very much nor will it help Kabila. It is my impression that the African states which have sent soldiers in support of Kabila have the intention of hampering the development and entering into negotiations, rather than bringing about a military solution. China too will not save Kabila. It is possible that China pursues its social-imperialist interests and tries to get a base there. Yet, they mainly have business relations with Kabila. He pursues his petty-bourgeois and petty minded interests. The main concern of the neighboring African states, Ruanda and Uganda as well, is that the region remains peaceful.

**Rote Fahne:** What kind of reactions of the imperialist states USA, Belgium etc. you are expecting?

**Shambuyi Kalala:** I do not attach much importance to those reactions. In a crisis situation there is always a great international interest. But Kabila is no special friend of them. The decisive factor is the people on which we must focus our attention.

**Rote Fahne:** Will the imperialists not feel themselves forced to undertake something in a situation where the people is mobilized and fighting for its liberation?

**Shambuyi Kalala:** That is true, but at the moment I cannot make out an imminent danger. In the first place, we must help the masses to understand their situation. Kabila has trampled on their interests. The reality is misrepresented when one is maintaining that the Mobutists are fighting Kabila. In reality Kabila is taking the road of Mobutu. Of



course, there are very different forces within the resistance movement, but no Mobutists.

**Rote Fahne:** How can the struggle be supported?

**Shambuyi Kalala:** It is important to take action against the distortions and to make it clear to people that the aims which the rebellion is pursuing are justified and that the people is committed to them.

Conditions must be created in which the people can organise itself and build up its organisations.

**Rote Fahne:** How will you organise public relations? What kind of communications are there available?

**Shambuyi Kalala:** The international communication channels are scarcely organised. We live like in the Middle Ages. I hope that this will change soon and I will inform you as soon as possible.

**Rote Fahne:** Do you have a special message for your international friends?

**Shambuyi Kalala:** Yes. It is important that the comrades support the rebellion. They must know, that the progressive words of Kabila do in no way conform to reality. The movement paves the way for the democratic discussion about the further development. This is of great significance and must be supported, even if quite different political currents are represented in it and their declarations do not sound very revolutionary. The revolutionary forces must have the opportunity to organise themselves.

***Regards to all the comrades!***





ALBANIA:

## INTERVIEW WITH A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE VLORA SALVATION COMMITTEE

**Question:** Vlora has been called the Stalingrad of the Balkans. Is this town playing a major role in the struggle for the restoration of socialism in Albania?

**Answer:** I think so. We should understand the gravity and the dimensions of the Albanian crisis: the political, economic and ideological crisis. This crisis is particularly deep here in Vlora, which was hit hard by the so-called 'financial pyramids'. The fraud amounted to \$600 million US, half of the monery taken by the 'pyramids' in all Albania. .

The cause of today's struggle was in the beginning mainly economic, but it grew as our people began to denounce the regime of Sali Berisha. But while the objective conditions were mature, the subjective factors were still lacking, since our young Communist Party of Albania was (and still is) illegal and had to endure a ferocious repression, and lacked organisation which did not permit it to fully play the leading role in the popular rebellion.

**Question:** But the party was legal in the beginning, wasn't it?

**Answer:** Yes, it was legal from its foundation in 1991 until the end of 1992. But the most important thing for a Marxist-Leninist party is not whether it is legal or illegal, although legality is very useful. What is important is to be at the head of the people, the women, the youth.

Historically my people have always struggled for freedom, and the people of Vlora are particualrly known as fighters.

Berisha found in Vlora an unshakable bastion, the heart of our people. Everybody, the youth and the elderly, were united when 5,000 troops sent by Berisha entered Vlora and were forced to retreat in 15-20 minutes. The revolt swept away all the state institutions and for six months Vlora was Berisha's Stalingrad.

**Question:** What is the name of the Committee that led the struggle and does it still exist?



**Answer:** It is called the Salvation Committee. The Committee was formed first in our town, but soon we sent representatives to all the cities of Albania who participated in the formation of such Committees. The rebellion needed a head, an organisation and a strategy. The committees were made up of socialists, republicans, people from the 'National Front', 'Legality' and of course from the Communist Party which was then an illegal party, although everybody knew of its presence.

In the framework of this struggle for national interests we stand for the formation of a broad front, as Lenin taught.

The Committee led the political struggle, while a military committee organised battalions, companies, squads, and led the people in seizing weapons from the army.

We had the territory under our control and followed the movements of the enemy troops, an 'enemy' in quotation marks since they were Albanians deceived by Berisha. The resistance began as guerrilla detachments based on the villages around Vlora, where we had the core of our forces. We built up barricades throughout the city, which can still be seen.

The rebellion in Vlora alarmed Europe, not because Albania is important, being a small country, but because of the example that is set. People in Germany, Naples and other places saw the masses struggling in the streets. The foreigners tried to understand what is the character of our revolt (political or economic), since the capitalists know that when the masses move the states can easily collapse. For example, General Giglio of the Multinational Force always asked me: 'If you win, what type of regime will be established in Albania?' and he waited for my answer staring at the portrait of Stalin behind me. I tried to calm him by saying that Stalin was a great anti-fascist who led the struggle of the peoples against Nazi-fascism.

**Question:** As communists, we criticize the 'Refoundation Party' (an Italian revisionist party ed.R.I). If they are communists, they should be consistent: in the beginning they opposed the intervention of the Multinational Force, but in the end their representative Brunetti voted for the intervention. If



one advocated proletarian internationalism one should be consistent: our people also suffer from this intervention.

**Answer:** They have committed a great mistake, they are not true communists, but false ones and they serve the interests of the bourgeoisie.

**Question:** Do the Salvation Committees still exist?

**Answer:** After the elections the Committees had exhausted their task. But we Marxist-Leninist communists know that the problems of our people will not be resolved while capitalism still exists. Although with Fatos Nano we have a democratic regime which is better than that of Berisha, Nano is the other side of the same coin. The Socialist Party says it is on the left but in practice it is always on the right.

The people of Vlora have exposed Berisha and his criminal collaborators, but in a year nothing has been done. This question still remains unresolved and it is not surprising that the socialist Fatos Nano is doing nothing.

After the dissolution of the Salvation Committees, two organisations were formed. The first is called '10th of February' in honour of our hero Abdul Rustenin who fell during the revolt; the second is called the 'Committee for the defence of the interests of the people'. We communists work in both these committees.

**Question:** After the first stage of the struggle, the collapse of the fascist regime of Berisha, what are the tasks of the communists today?

**Answer:** Our situation is very peculiar. We have passed from socialism to capitalism, and now we are acquiring experience in the struggle under new conditions. In any case we have the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, of com Enver Hoxha.

We stand for the class struggle, for the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. We suffer from all the evils of capitalism and from the consequences of the policies of the revisionists. The creation of a strong organisation is very important and the popular revolt has been a great school for the formation and evaluation of cadre.



Our Party works in the unions and the organisations of peasants (who account for 60% of the population and are very patriotic).

**Question:** The Socialist Party of Fatos Nano is pursuing some goals: the total liquidation of the socialist property, the complete restoration of capitalism, the insertion of Albania into the system of the European imperialism, of NATO, the penetration of foreign capital in Albania, etc. What is the programme of your communist Party?

**Answer:** First of all one should remember that the treason of Rami Alia and his clique had affected the country, first ideologically then economically and finally politically.

Berisha and Fatos Nano became the followers of Alia. The state economy has shrunk by 80%, 18,000 employees were fired. First of all the communists; 100,000 employees from various economic sectors have been laid off; 700,000 Albanians (out of 3 million), most of them youths were forced to emigrate; 22,000 young women have been forced to become prostitutes abroad; in 1997-98, 13,900 children could not go to school; in the country marijuana is raised and many kinds of drugs are smuggled into the country; the financial pyramids have seized 5,000 homes as private property.

**Question:** The mass 'information' media report that the situation in Albania is the result of a war among gangs. What is the truth?

**Answer:** The Albanian revolt was a popular upsurge that has matured over time, that was detonated by the 'pyramid' fraud that amounted to more than \$1.2 billions US dollars. During the revolt 2,000 demonstrators died, mainly youths, and more than 10,000 were wounded. But this struggle will continue, because our people are armed.

Our party is against foreign capital, against NATO, against the European Community, against all the secret services that operate, especially the Italian special corps. We are for the use of all forms of struggle, but mainly for revolutionary ones, for the proletarian revolution! The parliament is only a tribune. We do not want to limit ourselves to changing faces.

From '*La Nostra Lotta*.' Rome, June, 1998.





**RESOLUTION OF THE FIRST ASIA-PACIFIC  
CONFERENCE OF MARXIST-LENINIST  
PARTIES AND ORGANIZATIONS  
(INTERMEDIATE TO THE 6TH  
CONFERENCE OF THE ICMLPO)**

**ON OPPOSING US MILITARY HEGEMONY IN ASIA-  
PACIFIC AND THE US-JAPAN SECURITY ALLIANCE**

US imperialism regards the security of Asia-Pacific region as very critical to the future of US hegemony because of the gigantic US economic interests in the region. To safeguard its expanding economic interests, Japanese imperialism relies on the US military umbrella.

To maintain its economic and political hegemony, the US has concluded bilateral military treaties with Japan, South Korea, the Philippines Thailand and others after World War II. It also entered into Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreements (ACSA) to secure US armed forces free access to military and facilities in the region.

US still maintains a huge number of military bases/facilities in Hawaii, Japan, Okinawa, Korea, Guam, Saipan, Singapore and Diego Garcia in Indian Ocean with 100,000 strong forward deployment troops. US military bases/facilities are concentrated in South Korea and Okinawa islands. These are meant to suppress anti-imperialist and national liberation movements and socialist revolutions. These bases also serve as staging areas for US war of intervention as in the Persian Gulf war.

Japanese imperialism has been providing logistical and financial support for the US forces in the region under the US-Japan Security Treaty which was signed in 1952 and revised in 1952 and revised in 1960. In accordance with the treaty, the US forces can construct and maintain bases in Japan and a considerable part of its costs are shouldered by the Japanese taxpayers. Under the US military umbrella, the interests of Japanese big monopoly bourgeoisie have been protected.



In reasserting its economic, political and military hegemony in the region, US imperialism now demands more logistical and financial support from Japan. The Japanese ruling class submits to the US demands in order to build up Japan's military capabilities and protect its capital abroad in case of emergency or crisis.

Consequently, US and Japan have stepped up security cooperation. In April 1996, the US and Japan issued the Joint Declaration on Security which widens the scope of defense cooperation between the two countries in regional and even global acts of aggression and intervention.

In accordance with the 1996 Declaration, the two countries issued new guidelines for security cooperation in September 1997. The new guidelines provides how US forces and Japan's Self-Defense Forces (SDF) cooperate in case of emergencies in areas surrounding Japan. The areas include the Korean Peninsula, the Taiwan Strait and Southeast Asian countries like the Philippines, Indonesia and Burma. The Japanese government schemes to enact a bill to force civilians and local governments to provide logistical support for US forces in order to implement the new defense cooperation guidelines.

We strongly condemn the US military hegemony in Asia-Pacific and the US-Japan military alliance. To frustrate imperialist attacks against national liberation and socialist revolutionary movements, we must strengthen our efforts to abrogate all US military agreements/treaties. We must also oppose the growing Japanese militarism.

### **On Asian Economic Crisis**

The chronic crises of overproduction and finance in the world capitalist system have intensified in the 1990s due to continuing advances in high technology, the neoliberal predisposition towards contractionary anti-inflation policy and the runaway growth of unproductive speculative capital. The monopoly bourgeoisie's neoliberal thrust is the latest attempt at overcoming the intensifying crisis of overproduction.

The Asian economic crisis fully exposes the destructive and disintegrative character of monopoly capitalism. It is the



most recent manifestation of the crisis of the world capitalist system and the crisis of the backward economies that are adjuncts to it.

The crisis exposes the utter bankruptcy of imperialist globalization and competitive free market logic in the era of monopoly capitalism. Liberalization, deregulation and privatization have only accelerated the accumulation and concentration of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the advanced capitalist countries, intensified the exploitation of the neocolonies and caused the widespread devastation of productive forces.

The crisis shows how the internationalization of the mode of production has led not to a harmonious world of impending universal prosperity, but to deeper integration of economies into a web of crisis, exploitation, poverty and misery. The upheavals in the currency and equity markets of Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and South Korea quickly spread across the globe to the "emergent markets" of Latin America, Russia Eastern and Southern Europe and to the imperialist centers of the US, Japan and Western Europe. Thus, the crisis is not merely a regional issue.

The countries of the Asian region are important to US and Japanese imperialism which regard them as very significant export markets, as gaming tables for finance capital to reap artificially high profits, as sources of cheap consumer goods and- in the case of the original NIEs and China- as supplementary production sites. Japan, especially, has been developing an interlocking regional production base across Asia.

The neocolonies of the Asian region are export-oriented and import-dependent which results in chronic trade deficits that are perpetually financed by foreign borrowings and investments. The absence of solid domestic economic foundations leaves them trapped in a vicious circle of financial dependence. The intensified neoliberal drive of the imperialists since the start of the 1980s has aggravated the weaknesses of export-orientation and import-dependence. The Asian economic crisis will recoil on the centers of monopoly capital in terms of shrinking markets and less attractive financial options.



The economic turmoil in Asia has resulted in widening destruction of productive forces and of the foundations of national economies. Unemployment has worsened due to closures and bankruptcies of business firms. Inflation has depressed people's real earnings. The working people are the hardest hit by the economic turmoil, especially in the face of privatization and macroeconomic crisis management that reverse the gains in social services.

The crisis situation is portentous for capitalism and the conditions augur well for the resurgence of the revolutionary forces. It is urgent for us to accelerate our efforts to build the revolutionary forces and mobilize the masses for revolutionary struggle.

### **Resolution On the Formation of the League of Struggle for Liberation**

The global spread of monopoly capitalism has been heightened by the continuing concentration of monopoly capital. The imperialist powers have set up instruments or institutions such as international multilateral agencies and regional economic agencies to further their interests and assault the working people. Reactionary forces in the government and parties coordinate their anti-people policy on a world scale.

On the other hand the struggles of the workers and other oppressed peoples all over the world against the same imperialist world system requires further strengthening and coordination. The anti-imperialist front led by working class parties has been undermined by modern revisionism since the 1960s and drastically weakened after the collapse of the revisionist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Although anti revisionist working class parties have begun to rebuild and strengthen international solidarity, their work still lags behind the demand of our time. It is therefore urgent that the workers and other oppressed people unite and support one another in more direct and explicit ways in their common struggle against imperialism. Such cooperation must take some organizational forms.



## **The Conference therefore supports the formation of the League of Struggle for Liberation.**

The League should be a broad anti-imperialist formation which may include thoroughgoing anti-imperialists as well as those opposing only certain imperialist policies and projects. It must attract all forces that are objectively anti-imperialist.

The League should include various sectoral, multisectoral and issue-based organizations and movements such as: i) militant union, women, youth and peasant organizations and movements, ii) human rights, environmental, peace and international solidarity movements; iii) movement against fascistic and military terror; and iv) revolutionary movements for national and social liberation. Its main goal is to promote mutual support and coordination of the people's struggles.

The League must be formed on the basis of a common programme. For this purpose, active opposition to the latest imperialist scheme, i.e. "globalization" pursued through the IMF World Bank-WTO and through reactionary states, can be the immediate rallying point for all anti-imperialist forces. The name of the League does not have to be explicitly anti-imperialist.

Concrete forms of organisation of the League in every country will be determined by the respective working class parties based on their situation and capabilities.

### **Resolution Supporting the Formation of an Anti-imperialist Trade Union Forum**

The World capitalist system is in deep crisis. The current Asian economic crisis underscores the gravity of the convulsing not only Asia but the entire world. The workers and other people all over the world suffer intolerable exploitation, oppression and all forms of imperialist attacks, and are driven to protest and wage revolution. Workers' strikes and people's protests are erupting everywhere against intensifying imperialist exploitation and oppression.

Efforts to rebuild and strengthen working class solidarity are intensifying. More than ever, there is the need for the working class to unite against imperialism. There is the need



to strengthen anti-imperialist unity of trade unions and to launch effectively our common and militant struggle against imperialism, our common enemy. The deterioration and retrogression international trade union federations under revisionist and bourgeois leadership underscores such a need.

We need a forum, a venue, whereby we can exchange experiences, forge closer and wider links, raise our socialist consciousness and draw up common objectives, plans and activities against imperialism.

The idea of an anti-imperialist trade union forum has already been discussed in trade union and working class gatherings such as the international solidarity conferences hosted by the militant trade union center in the Philippines, with favourable and enthusiastic response.

This conference therefore fully supports the efforts and initiatives of the aforesaid trade union center and other trade unions and federations in other countries in forming the Anti-imperialist Trade Union Forum.

28 April, 1998.



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## **JANASHAKTI**

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West Bengal:

## CONCERNED CITIZENS IN ACTION

Association for Protection of Democratic Rights (APDR) West Bengal along with Prof. Abhijit Mazumdar, son of Com. Charu Mazumdar, presently working as Professor of History at Siliguri College, filed a case in the High Court of West Bengal seeking a probe into the mysterious circumstances under which Com. Charu Mazumdar died in police custody. The case was admitted in the High Court with No.24 of September 1998. Many concerned citizens took a signature campaign in support of the case. Here we are reproducing the copy of the memorandum submitted to the High Court of West Bengal. - **Editor**

The Hon'ble Chief Justice  
The Calcutta High court  
Calcutta

His Lordship,

With humility, we, the undersigned, beg to draw your kind attention to the matter below that has been concerning us and the like for a long time and might come under the preview of public interest.

It may be assumed that you are aware of the series of mass killings with great political overtones in Calcutta and in different parts of this state, West Bengal, during the days of early '70s. What is distressing is that a respectable political person as well as a noted poet cum journalist, Saroj Datta, had been evidently been taken away, if not hijacked, from a place in the dead of night by a posse of policemen and officers and put into their custody on 5-6 August 1971. Since then Saroj Datta is "missing", according to police and the government, where as we have reasons to believe that Saroj Datta was liquidated by the police and under their own disposal. Asked number of times, the administration had no plausible answer except saying "disappeared", a hackneyed term usually quoted by the police to cover up their mischief.

Further, a well known and famed political leader, Charu Mazumdar, was picked up from a place in central Calcutta at mid-night on a day in 1972 by a huge number of



police force and without care for any public witnesses, was thrown into the notorious Lalbazar police lockup at Calcutta. It could be learnt from an autobiographical narrative of policeman no less than an officer that Charu Mazumdar, a confirmed heart patient, was prevented from his appropriate treatment in the police lock-up and the usual drug that Charu Mazumdar used to take was withdrawn, for reasons best known to the police and government alone. Thus, Charu Mazumdar fell down to a critical condition of his health and died under the police custody on 28th July 1972, a death that qualified for a murder.

However, there has not been any proper investigation into those two instances, besides many such others, hitherto. As a result, well meaning people and general public are moved and keen to find a final resolution of the aforesaid cases of Saroj Datta's "disappearance" and Charu Mazumdar's "death" which are shrouded with myriads of mysteries and controversies. There had been demands for a thorough probe into those cases from several quarters many times in the past, to which we, too were parties. But it remains a matter of great regret and anguish that the administration has been ignoring this just demand lock, stock and barrel. Even the concerned ministry puts on a conspicuous silence. Only last year, the present Home Minister (Police) attributed the administration's omissions on this regard to the "loss/misplacement" of the relevant materials, which itself ought to be a subject of fresh investigation.

We have learnt that a human rights group, Association for Protection of Democratic rights (APDR) and Sri Abhijit Mazumdar, have sought intervention of the Hon'ble High Court at Calcutta with the prayer for proper investigation into the case-at-point and for fair justice. We have learnt further that a case has been filed in this respect that marks a great public importance and relates to one such as violation of human rights perse. Moreover, the aforesaid issue is still alive in public mind despite a long passage of time. Hence, we feel the matter at issue compounded with enormous controversy should be finally and fairly resolved in public interest as well as private one.

We, the undersigned, along with other concerned citizens, therefore, hope that the justice would prevail and the judgement be delivered finally and fairly to the interests of all well meaning and democratic people.





## **CONDEMN ACTS OF BULLYING AND WAR THREATS BY US IMPERIALISM AGAINST IRAQ!**

Since 1991, the Iraq is under endless economic blockade, crude intervention, threat of attack and harassment for no reason other than the refusal of its people to live under the thumb of US imperialism. Not only Iraq witnessed economic collapse, millions of people died or crippled as a consequence of US aggression, but also as one estimate says, 5,67,000 children died and are daily dying even today for want of food and medicines because of economic sanctions in the last 8 years. The UN has shown no guts to investigate into the kind of weapons and methods of mass destruction used and the crimes committed by the US imperialists in the Gulf War. But, it has turned all powerful and all active when it came to punish Iraq with a regime of economic sanctions. It is needless to say that here, the UN is only acting as a tool in the hands of US. Sending of UN team to Iraq to investigate into the weapons of mass destruction and the threats of war by the US on the pretext of Iraq's stoppage of co-operation to the UNSCOM in arms inspection-all came only is this wake.

Six months back, the US has created a war like situation in the Gulf alleging Iraq with non-co-operation to the UN's investigation team. The tension has subsided as Iraq agreed to allow the team on the promise of Kofi Annan, the UN General Secretary to review the sanctions comprehensively within six months. But, nothing of the sort happened. The experience has shown that the US wants nothing but a total prostration of Iraq and its people at the feet of US. The sanctions, investigations and war etc., are only a means to realise this aim. All these years, the US has been trying to pull down Saddam Hussain from power, but with no success. Now, the US president



Clinton has come out openly with his design to over throw Saddam Hussian. The US, once again, created a war like situation alleging the Iraq with non-co-operation to the UN team of Investigation.

In this whole episode, the British imperialists are acting as close associates and shameless stooges of US imperialism. Other imperialist powers are posing themselves to be working for a diplomatic solution. But, in fact they are only building the pressure on Iraq by hanging a democle's sword over its neck to comply with the demands of US or face the consequences. Here, the imperialist powers are only acting as they are.

There is protest in various countries of the world against the US. But it is not sufficiently categorical and powerful. The attitudes like, 'let the tiger eat my neighbour, but let me remain safe' or 'let it eat whom I dislike' or 'let me keep quite, lest, I may invite its anger' are manifesting. Many regimes in the countries of Third World, including India, being in the service of imperialism, are too weak to raise their voice against it. Unfortunate thing is, by their attitudes, these regimes and classes are only sharpening the teeth and claws of imperialists and are only enhancing their strength, hunger and ferocity which spells nothing but a great disaster for the oppressed nations and people all over the world.

The working class, oppressed nations and people must raise their voice against all acts of US intervention, hegemonism and war against Iraq; demand the UN to stop to act as a tool in the hands of US imperialism and forthwith end the regime of so-called economic sanctions and arms inspections and support the just right and struggle of the people of Iraq for an independent, democratic, sovereign and peaceful life free from the imperialist intervention, pressure and dictates.

**21.11.98**

**CENTRAL ORGANISING COMMITTEE**

**CPI (ML)-JANASHAKTI**





**Declaration:**

## **SOLIDARITY WITH SYRIA AGAINST TURKISH THREATS**

**7 October, 1998**

The Communist and Workers Parties in the Arab Countries met to discuss the dangerous situation that emerged from the Turkish threats to Syria, and made the following declaration:

Our Parties followed and are still following with great astonishment and condemnation the last declarations of Turkish and civil officers and their threats to carry on wide military operations against the Syrian Arab Republic using superfluous pretexts. It is quite obvious that Turkish Authorities are trying by these positions to escape from aggravating internal political and economical problems they are confronting, and from their regional and international isolation due to their expansionist policies and practices. These positions are mainly a natural fruit of the Turkish security and military alliance with the Israeli aggressive state, thing, which contradict completely with the interests of the friendly Turkish people which is related to the Arab Peoples historical old and tight relations. This new and dangerous escalation comes in the cadre of the American-Israeli policy aiming to encircle Syria, and to make pressure on it, trying to shook its firm policy based on clear principles aiming to confront the Israeli occupation.

These American-Israeli policies aims to divert continuous and sincere Syrian task to realize a just and comprehensive peace in the region based on the application of the principle of earth against peace, and on the resolution of the United Nations about the illegitimacy of forced occupation of others lands, implying as well the recovery occupied Arab lands ceased by the Israeli aggression in 1967, and to insure the rights of the Palestinian Arab People.



This new escalation is, as well, a continuation and a rude reinforcement of the attitude of the Turkish authorities aiming to force Syria to drop its legitimate demands in Euphrates River waters after the last refusal of these authorities participate to the tripartite negotiations to solve water problems.

Our Parties strongly condemn these Turkish threats and express our complete solidarity with Syria and its firm and sedate positions facing these threats with a self relating behavior and with its sincere task to solve related problems through dialogue and peaceful negotiations, in the interest of both neighbouring peoples.

At the same time we claim all Arab governments to take clear effective and urgent positions facing the aggressive Turkish aggravation, to block it, and abort its aims.

We call for all Arab peoples to express their condemnation to the Turkish threats and there backing to Syria facing these threats and against this Turkish aggressive attitude aiming the interests of the whole Arab Nation.

We call European countries as to take their responsibilities and to play their role stopping this escalation which is putting the whole region against unpredictable consequences.

We address, as well, all progressive and democratic parties and movements and all peace forces in the World, to condemn the Turkish threats, to take solidarity positions with Syria confronting these threats and to back its tasks to use peaceful means as a sole tool to solve problems between two countries.

***The Jordanian Communist Party***

***The Iraqi Communist Party***

***The Communist Party of Syria***

***The Syrian Communist Party***

***The Egyptian Communist Party***

***The Lebanese Communist Party***

***The Bahrain Liberation Front***





## **OBSERVE DECEMBER 6 AS STRUGGLE DAY AGAINST HINDUTVA COMMUNAL FORCES**

December 6 marks the sixth anniversary of the demolition of Babri Masjid by Sangh Parivar forces, abetted by the then Congress government. With the BJP led government coming to power at centre, the Hindutva forces are intensifying communalisation attacking all democratic forces, toiling masses, and particularly the minorities. This is a dangerous policy to divide the working people and to weaken them for intensifying the liberalisation/ globalisation policies, to sell out the country to imperialist interests, and to divert attention from people's burning problems like unprecedented price-rise, unemployment etc.

We call upon all progressive, democratic, patriotic forces all over the country to get united and observe December 6 as struggle day against aggressive Hindutva Communal Forces and in defence of democratic rights.

- 1. CPI (ML)-COC Janashakti**
- 2. CPI (ML) Liberation**
- 3. CPI (ML) New Democracy**
- 4. CPI (ML) Red Flag**
- 5. C.O.I. (ML)**
- 6. M.C.P.I.**

New Delhi  
19 October, 1998

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